The African Communist

NO 88 FIRST QUARTER 1982

BIRTH OF A NATION

70th Anniversary of the African National Congress

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

AFRICA	*£2.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year* (Readers in Nigeria can subscribe by sending 4 Naira to KPS Bookshop PMB 1023, Afikpo, Imo State)
BRITAIN	*£3.00 per year including postage*
NORTH AMERICA	*$8.00 per year including postage* *$15.00 airmail per year*
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES	*£3.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year*

ISSN 0001-9976

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 88 First Quarter 1982

CONTENTS

5 **Halt South Africa's Drive to War!**

An appeal from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

9 **Editorial Notes**

The ANC Rules the Hearts of the People; Crisis in the Ciskei; Indian People's Reply to Botha.

Gxobh'iyeza Kwedini

22 **African National Congress of South Africa — 70 years old: The Birth of a Nation**

On January 8, 1982, the African National Congress celebrated its 70th birthday. The author surveys the achievement of the oldest African liberation movement on our continent.

Themba Ngonyama

32 **Transkei — 5 Years of Bogus Independence**

October 1981 marked five years of so-called "independence" of the Transkei Bantustan. In those five years, while the Matanzima clique have grown rich, conditions for the mass of the people have worsened.

R.K.

40 **Art and Revolution in South Africa: The Theatre of Athol Fugard**

The author discusses the work of Fugard in relation to its political and social background and concludes that real involvement in the life and art of the majority would lead to artistic enrichment and the adoption of the democratic ideology of socialism.

Bamb'uzufelekhona, Maputo

54 **Why I want to join the Communist Party**

Dr. Michael Sefali

57 **The Struggle for Economic Independence in Southern Africa**

Extract from a paper presented by the author to the United Nations University "Symposium on the African Perspectives on a New International Economic Order" held at the Addis Ababa University in May, 1981. Dr. Sefali is Director of the Institute of Southern African Studies at the National University of Lesotho.

Ahmed Azad

68 **Africa Notes and Comment**

Egypt After Sadat: The US Takes Over; The Gambia: The Masses Revolt.

Seimou Pathe Gueye

77 Founding Congress of the Party of Independence and Labour — A New Stage in our Struggle

A member of the Central Committee of PIT reports on the resolutions and discussions at the conference last August. Special attention was given to the situation in Southern Africa, "the main strategic theatre of confrontation between imperialism and the forces of national and social liberation".

83 Book Reviews

Communism and Philosophy, by Maurice Cornforth; *Whirlwind Before the Storm,* by Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill; *Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation,* ed. Amon J. Nsekela; *Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa,* published by the Foundation for Education with Production, Gaborone; *South African Communists Speak — Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party 1915 to 1980; Working Class Giant: The Life of William Z. Foster,* by Arthur Zipser; *South Africa's Record of International Terrorism,* by Tony Gifford.

100 Letters to the Editor

The Catholic Church and the Polish Crisis, from Klaus Maphepha, Maputo; Mao, Vietnam and Our Revolution, from ANC Khumalo, Maputo.

110 The African Communist: List of Contents 1981.

HALT SOUTH AFRICA'S DRIVE TO WAR!

An appeal from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

Racist South Africa and its imperialist and NATO allies are relentlessly driving Southern Africa to the brink of war.

The Botha-Malan strategy of "total war" sees the whole of Southern Africa as one indivisible theatre of war. The aims of this strategy are the defeat and destruction of the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa, to destroy the governments of Angola and Mozambique which are attempting to build a socialist society, and the imposition of fascist South Africa on the rest of the peoples of Southern Africa as the unchallenged neo-colonialist master. This "grand strategy" is founded on the illusion that Southern Africa would forever remain the preserve of imperialism.

In practical terms what this "total strategy" amounts to is the militarisation of the South African economy and society in order to mount ever-increasing repression of our people's struggle for liberation and continuous and increasing economic and military aggression against all the states of Southern Africa.

The heroic people of Angola have once again beaten back a four-pronged massive military invasion by fascist South Africa. This invasion was part of the continuous aggression that was unleashed from the time of the birth of the People's Republic of Angola. The intensification of the barbaric attacks are accompanied by repeated incursions into western Zambia, active measures to overthrow the government of the Republic of Zambia by coup d'etat, and the training, arming and deployment of puppet groups and mercenaries against Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. These acts are combined with economic reprisals, blackmail and intimidation directed against Botswana, Swaziland and other independent countries and are founded on the economic stranglehold imperialist South Africa exercises over the economies of the countries of Southern Africa.

At a recent symposium held at the University of Potchefstroom, General Viljoen of the South African Defence Force accused these states of attacking the apartheid Republic in world forums, supporting economic sanctions and harbouring freedom fighters. "Such a situation", he threatened, "could not be tolerated. Should matters get even worse, South Africa would have no choice but to put its security interests above economic ideals."

S.A. Part of World Imperialism

Racist South Africa's drive to perpetuate and entrench white minority rule in South Africa, to deny the people of Namibia their right to self-determination, and to dominate the independent countries of Southern Africa economically, politically and militarily is generated by the imperialist nature of South Africa's capitalist economy. At the same time the South African economy is an integral part of the world capitalist economy. This is the basis for the community of interest between imperialism and racist South Africa which underpins the special role that the South African regime is assigned in Southern Africa and the South Atlantic region. It is within the context of this web of inter-relations that steps are being taken for the establishment of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation with the connivance of US imperialism and that the Reagan administration has come out publicly to encourage the Botha-Malan military adventures in Southern Africa as well as covertly connive in the creation of assassination squads by South Africa to eliminate the leadership of the ANC, SACTU and the SACP.

The rapid escalation of the danger of war in South Africa must be seen against the backdrop of the reactionary Reagan administration's efforts to refurnish and apply with renewed vigour the aggressive policies and brinkmanship pursued by world imperialism at the height of the cold war. While war clouds darken the Southern African sky, on a world scale we live under the deepening shadows of the threat of a world war. Southern Africa as such constitutes one theatre of struggle, an area which, together with the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, has become one of the focal points in the international confrontation between the forces of national liberation, socialism and peace on the one hand, and imperialism and war on the other.

The apartheid regime has militarised the South African economy and society. Millions of rands are being diverted to the development of South Africa's nuclear capacity. In addition, on July 29 1981 the Botha-Malan regime increased its military budget by 39.5%, raising it to R2,465 billion. Under the guise of the Physical Planning Act and the national key points regulations, industries are requested to surround themselves with barbed wire fortresses. Young whites are being drafted and unemployed blacks cajoled into the army.

While the wealth of our country, the produce of our sweated labour, is wasted on the production of weapons of war and in reckless military adventures, the plight of our oppressed and exploited people, and the workers in particular, is inexorably reduced to a struggle for survival against starvation. The price of bread and other essential foods keeps increasing, rents and bus fares continue to soar. The rate of inflation is higher than it ever was since 1924. More than two million black workers are jobless. Those who have jobs are engaged in bitter struggles and strike action to improve their conditions and wages. Mass forced removals such as at Nyanga continue unabated and the Bantustan puppet 'states' are institutionalised as dumping grounds of the unemployed and unemployable.

South Africa The Key

Now as never before the future of South Africa has become the lynchpin to liberation, peace and social progress in Southern Africa and Africa.

In our struggle for national liberation and the building of a socialist society, our people have struck mighty blows.

The pursuit of destabilisation and military aggression against Southern Africa by the Botha-Malan regime and its imperialist allies introduces a further dimension to our actions and a special responsibility on our peoples, and especially on the leading force of our revolution — the oppressed and exploited black working class.

The South African Communist Party calls upon our people, and particularly our working class, to unite in mass action and intensify the struggle.

Let us build and strengthen our trade unions. Let us organise the unorganised workers. Let us carry the struggles we are engaged in on the factory floors to the townships. Let us intensify the battles we are engaged in over local and specific issues and widen them into national battles.

Refuse to serve in the apartheid army! Demand an end to the production of weapons of death and destruction!

Let the wealth of our country provide jobs for the jobless, a living wage for all, houses for all!

While the racist regime prepares for and engages in murderous acts of aggression against the countries of Southern Africa, let us gather all our energies, build a broad mass movement to halt such aggression and attack the racist regime in its heartland with ever increasing vigour!

Destroy the Washington-Pretoria conspiracy! No to SATO! Halt the racist aggression against Angola and all the countries of Southern Africa!

Organise mass protest meetings and demonstrations! Develop positive forms of mass action!

FORWARD TO NATIONAL LIBERATION, SOCIALISM AND PEACE!

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

ANC RULES THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE

The 70th anniversary of the African National Congress on January 8, 1982, sees the organisation at a pitch of power, influence and prestige higher than ever before in its history. It has established itself without doubt as the effective leader of the struggle of the oppressed people for liberation, and the importance of its role in shaping the destiny of our country is acknowledged by friend and foe alike.

A recent report on the South African political scene by the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States, acknowledging the premier role of the ANC, stressed that much of its appeal lies in its historical reputation as the oldest African nationalist movement.

> "For the older generation it is comparable to a church that one is born into, the organisation that has carried on while others have come and gone."

This is only a part of the explanation. There were black organisations in South Africa both before and after 1912 which failed to survive the test of time. Yes for some the ANC may be like a church that one is born into, but today it holds the loyalty of increasing numbers of people, not purely for reasons of sentiment or tradition, but because it is a militant liberatory movement with a fighting policy which has won and is winning ever-increasing numbers of recruits for its crusade against white domination and exploitation. It does not fuddle the people with pretty stories about happiness in the next world, but offers salvation, justice and security for all in this world on the basis of sustained struggle for the achievement of the aims incorporated in its programme the Freedom Charter. It has survived and grown in strength because it has been pragmatic and flexible, capable of adaptation to changed circumstances, without departing from its fundamental principles.

An outline of the history of the ANC highlighting the salient features has been written for this issue of *The African Communist* by Gxobh'iyeza Kwedini. We would also suggest to our readers that they study once again the speech delivered by the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, at the London meeting celebrating the 60th birthday of the SACP on July 30 last year, extracts from which were printed in the last issue of *The African Communist*. The alliance of the ANC and the SACP which has been forged in the recent decades is one reason why our liberation movement has been able to deepen its revolutionary perspectives and intensify its revolutionary activity on all fronts, both inside and outside South Africa. President Tambo emphasised:

"Today the ANC and SACP have common objectives in the eradication of the oppressive and exploitative system that prevails in our country: the seizure of power and the exercise of their right to self-determination by all the people of South Africa. We share a strategic perspective of the task that lies ahead".

There is no doubt that it is the unity, consistency, determination and reliability of the ANC and the fact that it has its roots among the people which has won it the mass support it enjoys. It has carried out its policies with a combination of revolutionary fervour and responsible restraint which has effectively advanced the people's struggle. It has avoided the errors of sectarianism and adventurism which have destroyed many another "liberation" organisation. Though it has always maintained its character as a broad mass organisation, it has neither sunk beneath the weight of compromise nor shattered itself on the rocks of tribal or ideological conflict. We do not overlook the breakaways of the PAC in 1958 and the so-called Gang of 8 in the 1970s. But we think it fair to ask — where are they today? And where is the ANC?

Nobody disputes the leading role of the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa today. The repeated and heavy blows which have been struck against the enemy from one end of the country to the other have been delivered by Umkhonto and nobody else. The PAC and the Gang of 8 are nowhere to be found; nor any other group for that matter. In the military field there is only one organisation doing the fighting, and that is the ANC.

As important as the physical damage inflicted on the enemy is the manner in which these operations are carried out. These are not hit and run operations by isolated individuals who flee across the border to sanctuary in the frontline states as soon as their missions are completed. Umkhonto we Sizwe has shown that its units are capable of operating independently inside the country for long periods of time while at the same time maintaining contact with their HQ and co-ordinating their work on a nation-wide scale. The army of the ANC is sheltered and sustained by the people among whom it operates and from whom it derives its strength. *Without* this popular backing, it could not survive. *With* the support of the people Umkhonto is growing in strength, mobility and effectiveness from day to day.

Nor can the prestige of the ANC be measured solely in terms of its military successes, because these in turn stem from the political line of the organisation and the impact it is making on the masses. It is because the ANC stands for what the people want that it gets their support. A poll commissioned by the Johannesburg *Star,* the country's biggest white-owned paper and mouthpiece of the bosses, the results of which were published in its columns last September, clearly established that the ANC is the most popular political movement amongst Africans in the main centres. In answer to the question: "If you could vote for Parliament today who would you vote for?" the replies were as follows:

	All	Johannesburg	Durban	Cape Town
ANC	40%	47%	37%	28%
Inkatha	21%	20%	31%	5%
Azapo	11%	17%	6%	4%
PAC	10%	8%	12%	13%

These figures are worth studying in detail, for they are very revealing. They expose the boast of Buthelezi, for example, that his Zulu-based Inkatha has now replaced the ANC as the leading force for liberation in South Africa. Even in Durban, Buthelezi's main base, the ANC headed the poll. In Cape Town, where in the 1960 disturbances following the Sharpeville and Langa shootings the PAC under its charismatic student leader Kgosana paralysed the community with a three-week-long strike, nothing now remains of the PAC. And where is Kgosana the deliverer? And what of Johannesburg, where Sobukwe himself led his little group into action in 1960? What is left of the PAC there?

Equally significant is the prestige recorded by the poll of the ANC in the eyes of the Coloured and Indian communities, both of whom stated they had more confidence in the ANC than in any other African organisation. The ANC was the leading force in the Congress Alliance of the 1950s and 1960s and is still today the main proponent of unity amongst all national groups in the struggle against apartheid and in the building of the new South Africa outlined in the Freedom Charter. Clearly its message is getting across.

It is not only blacks who today look to the ANC for leadership out of the crisis to which the policies of the white racists have brought it. A small but significant section of the white community has always identified itself with the policies of the ANC and throughout this century there have been whites who fought against racism and exploitation side by side with their black comrades. In 1952 the Congress of Democrats was formed with the specific object of recruiting whites to take part in the Defiance Campaign and other activities of the Congress Alliance. Today more and more whites are turning to the ANC and responding to its initiatives.

They are not doing this on the basis of negrophilism or fear, but out of acceptance of the basic policies of the ANC as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Here are a few references from the press:

"The most broadly representative gathering of political and social groups since the Black Renaissance Convention of 1973 took place in Durban at the week-end. But the tone differed sharply from the earlier meeting, held in the salad days of the black consciousness movement.

"A banner draped across the stage read: 'Long Live Congress'. In the most important of the resolutions of the two-day conference, hundreds of delegates from 109 organisations — with a combined membership of more than 300,000 — endorsed the Freedom Charter . . . Those present at the meeting came from a broad spectrum of community and labour groups. These included political organisations like the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC), unions like the SA Allied Workers' Union and the General and Allied Workers' Union, and sports bodies such as the SA Council on Sport. There were also civic bodies such as the Durban Housing Action Committee and student groups including the Congress of SA Students and the Azanian Students' Organisation. Even predominantly white bodies — the Students' Representative Councils of major English-language universities and the Black Sash — who would have been anathema in the black consciousness era — were there". The meeting had been called to voice popular opposition to the elections for the stooge South African Indian Council due to be held on November 4. Among those on the platform were Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Albert Lutuli and Mrs Monty Naicker. *(Star,* October 16, 1981).

"Nothing short of what is contained in the Freedom Charter can bring stability to South Africa, a meeting (in Johannesburg) attended by more than 400 people to protest against the recent spate of detentions was told yesterday . . . Speakers included student leaders, community workers and trade unionists". (*The Sowetan,* October 14, 1981).

"About 150 people gathered at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Soweto yesterday to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. Speaker after speaker condemned the Nats rule and said they could not ignore the Freedom Charter any longer. Dr Motlana (chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten) said although the Charter had been drafted 26 years ago, what the document demanded of South Africa is what is demanded by everybody even today. The national flag, with the black, green and gold colours was hoisted during the service and ANC pamphlets and copies of the Freedom Charter were distributed". (*The Sowetan,* June 29, 1981).

The founding conference of the ANC in 1912, attended by hundreds of delegates from all over South Africa, was not reported in a single white South African newspaper. For years the very existence of the ANC was virtually ignored by the white racists. Not any more. Today, with the parliamentary "opposition" more and more displaying impotence, passivity and compromise in the face of the regime's aggression at home and abroad, the policies, slogans, songs, colours and initiatives of the ANC are evident everywhere in South Africa. More and more South Africans are coming to see the ANC as the real and only defender of the people, spear of the nation, the architect and builder of the future South Africa for which all freedom fighters are struggling and many have given their lives. Even some Nat. politicians and pressmen are calling for consultations instead of confrontation.

We Communists have contributed our share to the strengthening of the ANC. Many of the giants of the national liberation movement like J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Govan Mbeki and others, both at leadership and rank and file level, have loyally served the ANC throughout their careers. In his speech on our 60th birthday, President Tambo said: "Our organisations have been able to agree on fundamental strategies and tactical positions, whilst retaining our separate identities . . . Our organisations are mutually reinforcing. It is often claimed by our detractors that the ANC's association with the SACP means that the ANC is being influenced by the SACP. That is not our experience. Our experience is that the two influence each other".

President Tambo went on to stress that the forces of the ANC and the SACP together "comprise a fighting alliance that represents the power of the South African revolution in the making", but he added significantly:

"The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development . . . Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle".

It is an alliance which has been worked for and consolidated by the efforts of thousands of members of both organisations over many decades. The price of this alliance, like freedom itself, is eternal vigilance, eternal struggle.

On this 70th anniversary of the ANC we Communists salute our gallant allies of the ANC and pay tribute to their glorious achievements. We express our confidence in the leadership and membership of the ANC, tried and tested in a multitude of battles, and pledge to make it one of our main objectives in the coming period to help strengthen the ANC, spread its message, broaden its base and swell the ranks of its fighting forces until all our people are free and the democratic South Africa outlined in the Freedom Charter has become a reality.

CRISIS IN THE CISKEI

The whole question of the "independence" of the Ciskei Bantustan reflect the determination of the South African regime to rid itself of legal liabilit for its African citizens, and the willingness of the so-called Ciske "government" to co-operate in a process of national self-destructio against the will of the majority of the people. "Independence" is being foisted on the African people so that the whites can claim that they constitute the largest single national group and are therefore entitled to dominate in the 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa which they have proclaimed white.

In this issue of *The African Communist* we print an article by Themba Ngonyama exposing the ravages which have been caused by "independence" to the people of the Transkei. The Transkei became "independent" in 1976, followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977 and Venda in 1979, and the same process has taken place in each territory, which has been turned into an impoverished labour reserve for the "white" area. Now the whole farce is being repeated in the Ciskei.

With one exception: in the case of the Ciskei, the Botha and Sebe regimes made an attempt to persuade public opinion that independence was not being foisted on the people by Pretoria but flowed from the national wish for self-determination of the Ciskeian people. In 1978 the Sebe "government" appointed a commission to "enquire into and report and make recommendations to the government of Ciskei on the practical feasibility, considering all political, economic and social aspects, of independence for Ciskei". Chairman of the commission was Professor G. Quail, of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the other members were Professor C. H. T. Lalendle of Fort Hare, Sir Arthur Snelling, former British Ambassador to South Africa, Professor E. Marais, rector of the University of Port Elizabeth, Dr M. van den Berg, head of the Handelsinstituut, Mr P. Kilby, US economist, and Professor Robert Rotberg, US academic.

The Quail Commission presented its report in February 1980. It found conditions in the territory appalling, with a high level of infant mortality and widespread malnutrition, overgrazing of the land (47% moderately or seriously eroded), a chronic shortage of housing, practically no industry and low productivity in agriculture. Only a tiny proportion of the population had access to the land and there was massive unemployment. Of 100,000 economically active people in the Ciskei, 25% were unemployed, but if all people between the ages of 15 and 65 were included, the unemployment rate was 39%. Conditions were particularly bad in the resettlement camps where the "surplus" Africans from the "white" areas were dumped with no land, jobs or even basic facilities. In one camp of 50,000 people there was not even a single doctor.

The "de jure" population of the Ciskei is over 2 million, including of course people "of Ciskeian origin" in "white" South Africa. The majority are dependent on migratory labour for an income. The commission condemned the migratory labour system, holding that it denied people the opportunity of seeking the best jobs available, crippled agricultural development, destroyed family life and led to alcoholism and violent crime. One significant finding of the commission was that South Africa as a whole had "the most unequal income distribution among the 66 countries of the world for which data was available". Living standards in the Bantustans are the lowest in South Africa.

The report was scathing on the "independence" granted to Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, commenting that it amounted to denationalisation on ethnic lines. The survey it had conducted, said the commission, showed that 90 per cent of the people of the Ciskei did not want this sort of "independence", preferring universal adult suffrage in a single unitary state. The commission recommended that the Ciskei should not opt for "independence" unless certain conditions were met:

1. The majority of Ciskeians in the territory and in South Africa voted in favour of "independence" in a carefully supervised referendum;
2. Ciskeians should have the choice of South African or Ciskeian citizenship, and South Africa should not have the right to deport those who chose South African citizenship;
3. More land for the Ciskei;
4. The rights of Ciskeians to seek and retain employment in "white" South Africa should be preserved.
5. South Africa should provide equitable financial support.

In a debate on the commission's report in the Ciskei legislature (50 members, of whom 30 are nominated chiefs and only 20 are elected) in May 1980, Chief Minister Sebe said his administration would never accept "independence" if it meant surrendering South African citizenship. In September 1980 Sebe worked out a "package deal" with Minister of Co-operation and Development Koornhof which was submitted to a referendum on December 4, 1980. Sebe told his people that the "package deal" incorporated all his demands, but Koornhof only went on record as saying that the South African government would not deport Ciskeians resident in "white" South Africa except after consultations between the two governments. South Africa never accepted the possibility of dual citizenship.

In other words, the "package deal" submitted to referendum was a fraud from the start, and Sebe knew it. Yet in October he told a mass meeting at Zwelitsha: "Anybody who says our independence will be the same as the independence of the others (Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda) is a clown, to put it in polite language". In November, 1980, he said in Port Elizabeth that under the "package deal" his people would be able to enjoy both Ciskeian and South African nationality. In December, after the referendum, he repeated that Ciskeians would have the choice of South African or Ciskeian nationality.

The referendum itself was a farce. Only registered Ciskei voters were allowed to take part in the referendum, but to register a reference book had to be produced — and since 1978 it has been compulsory for Ciskeians to take out Ciskeian citizenship if they required reference books. This meant that those taking part in the referendum on whether the Ciskei should be independent were already Ciskeian citizens, while those who resisted "independence" were excluded from the vote. That is why, out of the 2 million-odd people of Ciskeian origin, there were only 503,190 inside Ciskei and 295,144 in other parts of South Africa. The ballot was not free. Those who voted had their reference books stamped 'R', which meant that those who had not voted were liable to victimisation after the referendum. There was also massive intimidation at the polls themselves. Even then, Sebe could only get 295,891 to vote for "independence" — less than 15% of the estimated total population.

In the House of Assembly on February 20, 1981, Premier P. W. Botha announced that the Ciskei would become "independent" on December 4, 1981. He and Chief Sebe had signed an "independence" agreement following three days of intensive talks in Cape Town. At a press conference afterwards Sebe claimed that the conditions laid down by the Ciskei "government" for "independence" had been met during the negotiations. He said again that under the agreement Ciskeians would retain South African nationality although they would remain Ciskeian citizens.

But no details of the agreement were published. And a few days later Sebe was beginning to change his tune. The following quotation is from a report in the *Evening Post* of February 26, 1981:

"Chief Lennox Sebe has accepted independence for the Ciskei in spite of a refusal by the South African Government to grant a common nationality to Ciskeians. This emerged in a statement by Chief Sebe yesterday that he had been unable to reach agreement on one of the key aspects of the independence package deal. It means that Ciskeians will have to accept separate nationality and citizenship and will lose their South African citizenship . . . In East London Chief Sebe said, however, that he was quite satisfied with the citizenship rights his people would enjoy after independence. South Africa and Ciskei had merely agreed to extend to the other country's citizens the benefits of citizenship when necessary".

When the Status of Ciskei Bill was finally introduced in the House of Assembly in September 1981, it became clear immediately that Sebe had sold his people down the river, and that the Bill would automatically deprive all Ciskeians, inside or outside the territory, of their South African citizenship. Koornhof said: "Of course Dr Sebe wanted citizenship, but there are certain things that are not attainable". He quoted from a letter he had received from Sebe saying: "We have done much heart-searching on the citizenship issue and have conceded it (the loss of citizenship) because we saw no relative alternative".

But there was an alternative, and that was to reject a farcical "independence" and insist that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people — to quote the words of the Freedom Charter. Sebe has rejected that alternative because he dare not submit himself to the will of the people of the Ciskei, the overwhelming majority of whom are totally opposed to "independence". Sebe was not placed in office by the process of a free election, but was imposed on "his" people by Pretoria. He maintains himself in power by the exercise of a South African emergency law which has been in force for years and under which he has imprisoned without trial thousands of his opponents, including hundreds of trade unionists fighting not only to improve their wages but also to keep Ciskei as an integral part of South Africa.

Ciskeian independence means the opportunity for unbounded wealth and power for Sebe and the clique who rule the territory for the benefit of the Botha regime and the employers in South Africa interested only in an endless source of cheap labour. Ciskei is already South Africa's biggest dumping ground, dotted with resettlement camps housing hundreds of thousands of decaying and hopeless communities evicted from Nyanga and other urban areas. Thanks to Koornhof and "separate development", Ciskei's population has doubled in the past ten years and it is now one of the most densely populated areas in all Africa. But as the population rises, living standards fall. For the mass of the people there is no future. 25% of children already die before their first birthday, and the infant mortality rate is rising.

If Botha, Malan and their security chiefs want to know why acts of armed resistance are multiplying all over South Africa, they only have to look at Ciskei and the other Bantustans to find the answer. The people of South Africa simply will not accept the policy of genocide which is being implemented by the Botha regime and its black stooge allies.

The only alternative to apartheid is total rejection and total resistance — strikes, demonstrations, rent and bus boycotts, armed struggle — mass united action at every level and by every means against forced removals, influx control, all regime-instituted bodies like the South African Indian Council, the Bantustans etc. The mood of the people is high. Organisation and leadership must be raised to the level required to match it.

INDIAN PEOPLE'S REPLY TO BOTHA

The shattering rebuff delivered by the Indian community to the Botha regime in last November's elections for the South African Indian Council reflected the complete rejection by the voteless black majority of the apartheid institutions foisted on them by the white racist minority. The determined and spirited boycott campaign conducted by the anti-SAIC Committee and the Natal Indian Congress met with an overwhelming response and the poll established once and for all the total lack of public support for the handful of collaborators willing to assist the regime in the implementation of its apartheid grand design.

The average turnout in the elections was 10.5%, ranging from less than 2 per cent in one Transvaal constituency to 20.5 per cent in Durban. In the Fordsburg constituency of Johannesburg only 17 out of the 3,800 voters on the roll went to the polls. Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee, hailed the result as a "magnificent show of unity by the Indian community and blacks everywhere".

In fact, the election result showed that despite decades of bludgeoning, bullying and bribing by the apartheid regime, the Indian community has lost nothing of its determination to fight for a South Africa free from racialism, segregation and injustice, a new South Africa based on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter. The principles of struggle which inspired Mahatma Gandhi and his followers in the first decades of the century, which sustained the passive resisters in the Ghetto Act campaign of 1946 and the defiance campaign of 1952, which brought the Indian Congress into the Congress Alliance in the 1950s – these principles are still proudly inscribed on the banners held aloft by the Indian people.

The work and sacrifice of the many leaders and rank and file trailblazers in our history has not been forgotten. Their names and the policies for which they stood still enjoy the love and respect of the community, not as memorials to the past, but as beacons to the future and callsigns that the struggle must continue until final victory is achieved.

Dr Jassat was right to hail the victory as "a magnificent show of unity by the Indian community and blacks everywhere". A notable feature of the boycott campaign was the appearance on Anti-SAIC platforms of African leaders like Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Albert Lutuli and the Africans themselves have displayed the same rejection of apartheid in their refusal to take part in elections for the dummy community councils offered to them by the regime in Soweto and elsewhere. Likewise, the Coloured Labour Party acting in the name of the Coloured people effectively destroyed the Coloured Persons Representative Council after exposing its futility in practice. In the Bantustans the polls, where not rigged, are also effectively boycotted.

The Indian election fiasco has probably dealt a death blow to the ridiculous constitutional proposals advanced by the Botha regime in the name of "power-sharing". The State President's Council of 60 members plus the State Vice-President was set up to advise the government on constitutional and other matters. It has a majority of white members, but includes a handful of Coloureds and Indians, though Africans are excluded because they are not supposed to be South African citizens. The first two recommendations of the Council were that a small portion of District 6 should be returned to the Coloureds and that Pageview should remain an Indian area, but both recommendations were summarily rejected by the Botha Cabinet. When even the executive committee of the stooge South African Indian Council was moved to object, Premier Botha replied in contemptuous terms reminding them that the State President's Council was only a "commission of inquiry" and "is not ruling the country", adding for good measure:

"In conclusion, I wish to point out to you that the Indian community in general is living under better conditions than most other Indian communities in the world and a more positive attitude on your behalf could improve their conditions".

Now the Indian community have given Botha the "positive" response he was asking for. The Indians are very positive that they do not want his Indian Council, or his State President's Council, or any other dummy body they may be offered. What the Indians, Africans and Coloureds who comprise the majority of the population of South Africa are demanding today is full and equal citizenship in the land of their birth — no more pass laws or Bantustans, no more discrimination or injustice, equal representation for all on the basis of one man one vote in a united South Africa. And a growing body of whites support them in these demands.

Moreover, the Indian Council election did not take place in a vacuum. The campaign of the Anti-SAIC committee was supported by all sections of the liberation movement, which took all necessary measures through its apparatus inside South Africa to promote the boycott. Nor should it be overlooked that a large element of the militancy expressed in the campaign was injected by the Indian working class who comprise the overwhelming majority of the Indian community. The growing unity of action between the various sections of the black working classes is one of the most positive achievements of the recent round of struggle in the industrial field.

The Indian Council boycott campaign has been one more sign of the fighting spirit which animates the oppressed people everywhere in South Africa today. The task before us now is to harness this spirit ever more effectively in the struggle for final liberation, to organise the people and enrol them in our freedom army, to advance more often and more massively on the offensive. The enemy is more divided and less confident than ever before, while our people are more united and more confident, more sure of the road ahead. Let those who have hesitated now cast aside their fears and join us in our grand crusade to bring freedom and democracy for all to our beloved country.

§§

It is the task of all oppressed peoples, whether they be Chinese, Indians or Negroes, to recognise their common class interest and unite together against their common enemy — imperialism.

Albert Nzula, 1931

§§

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA—70 YEARS OLD

THE BIRTH OF A NATION

by Gxobh'iyeza Kwedini

The South African Communist Party has many reputations. One of these is its consistency in celebrating ANC commemorative days. This is a sign of the indivisibility of our movement and of the dynamism of our liberation struggle. But why should the CP interest itself or involve itself so much in the strengthening and development of the ANC, going so far as to celebrate its 70th anniversary? There are many reasons for this, but for the purposes of this article we shall confine ourselves to a few answers.

The ANC is the only organisation or rather the first African organisation on the continent which has existed for 70 years. This alone — its very existence for such a long period — is reason enough to celebrate; the uniqueness of this day lies in the fact that no liberation movement on the African continent has been in existence for such a long time.

We said "uniqueness" of this day advisedly because, indeed, the ANC has made a unique contribution to the African revolution: it has proved in theory and in practice that it is possible — in case anybody doubted it — to unite the African, Coloured, Indian people and even some democratic whites in the struggle for freedom. This is a unique contribution because no other liberation movement in Africa has managed to achieve this.

It would be wrong to portray the Indian and Coloured communities as people without initiative; people who have been organised by the ANC and, by implication, by the Africans. It is an historical fact that the Indian Congresses in Natal and the Transvaal were formed before the formation of the ANC. So was the Coloured organisation — interestingly named the African People's Organisation. Coloured giants like Abdurahman worked and spoke in the name of all blacks. Gomas and La Guma were respected figures in Coloured and African circles precisely because they were leading figures and functionaries of the ANC in the 1920's and 1930's and even later. They made their individual contributions to the emergence of this broad front. But two things need to be said in this connection.

Firstly their very emergence and successes in contributing to this front were facilitated by the fact that — unlike many African countries — the Indian and Coloured people have a large working class base and this alone makes them receptive to the ideas of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist unity.

Secondly, the contributions of these communities became more realistic in direct proportion to the unity, strength, organisation and mobilisation of the African masses.

Concretely related to the CP, we maintain that it would be an act of dishonesty on our part if we failed to mention that the ANC helped a great deal to keep the CP alive. Of course this was a mutual process. But what needs to be emphasised is the ANC's co-operation and good relations with the CP; the ANC's defence of the legitimate role of the CP, its right to exist independently and legally — all this is unparalleled on the African continent.

These are some of the reasons for celebrating this day. But as we celebrate, we ask ourselves some questions: What kept this movement going? What are the forces behind this dynamism? What are the changes that took place? What is the future of this movement? These are questions of life and death for every peasant, worker, migrant worker, priest, intellectual, chief or student in our country and movement. In answering these questions we pay tribute and homage to our forefathers, we honour them for what they did on January 8, 1912 — siyabulela, Rea leboha, sibonga, Rea leboga.

January 8

Peter Walshe, an expert on ANC history, but with a cold style and very aloof, wrote: "On January 8, 1912, African personalities from all over Southern Africa gathered in Bloemfontein formally dressed in suits, frock coats, top hats and carrying umbrellas." Surely this is not all that needs to be said about all those who gathered on January 8, 1912. What is more important is what brought them together in Bloemfontein.

To answer this question we shall trace Pixley ka (son of) Seme's activities just before the formation of the ANC. Seme, who had already during his student days articulated the idea of African unity against colonialism and national oppression, later developed to be a theoretician and moving spirit for the formation of the ANC. He reported that he was "requested by several Natives, leaders and chiefs, to write a full and concise statement on the subject of the South African Native Congress" but "I feel, however, that I shall better meet their desire as well as more properly treat this subject if I disregard the pretentious title and write on the simple subject of Native Union, for after all, this is what the Congress shall be."

He emphasised the urgency of forming the ANC. "Again, it is conclusively urgent that this Congress should meet this year, because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not be unnecessarily postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders."

When Seme was urging that Congress should meet "this year" he was writing in October, 1911. He was not simply expressing "revolutionary impatience", but was expressing an historical need; he was a tool of history.

And then he summarised his philosophy:

> "The demon of racialism, the aberration of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Basutos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

This emphasis on African unity meant a unity that cut across but did not replace ethnic characteristics.

On January 8, 1912, Seme again led the discussion:

> "Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a theme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa — a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration.

> We have called you therefore to this conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights."

In other words the ANC was formed to fight against political rightlessness of the Africans, the denial of their economic chances of advancement and human rights. This statement was made a year before the enactment of the Native Land Act which was scrutinised in detail by Sol Plaatje, the Secretary-General of the ANC in his book *Native Life in South Africa*. In a satirical way Plaatje shows the irony in the reactions towards the Act:

> ". . . nearly all white lawyers in South Africa, to whom we spoke about this measure had either not seen the Act at all, or had not read it carefully, so that in both cases they could not tell exactly for whose benefit it had been passed. The study of this law required a much longer time than the lawyers, unless specially briefed, could devote to it, so that they hardly knew what all the trouble was about.
>
> "It was the Native in the four Provinces who knew all about it, for he had not read it in books but had himself been through its mill, which like an automatic machine ground him relentlessly since the end of the month of June."

Besides the Land Act which aimed at stopping the acquisition of land by Africans, there were other grievances: the pass laws, especially for women, the taxes, old age pensions which were paid every month to white old men but not to Africans, lack of adequate transport facilities to and from work and the high cost of existing transport, injustice in law courts — which was legalised — indifference of town councils and appalling or non-existent medical services.

The birth of the ANC was a reaction to a myriad grievances and complaints. It was unity of a new type — an anti-colonial unity: the birth of a nation and a beginning in a new direction.

African Nationalism and Socialism

The relationship between the African nationalists and the South African socialists — who were white — started relatively early: in 1916, less then a year after the formation of the International Socialist League.

According to Lionel Forman, February 1916 saw a landmark in the history of our liberation movement — "the first coming together in the Transvaal of the white socialists and the African National Congress." The socialists had called this meeting which was addressed by Saul Msane of the ANC. In June of the same year an ANC leader, Robert Grendon, editor of the ANC organ *Abantu-Batho* addressed a meeting in Johannesburg on "The link between black and white". There were many Africans present.

What about the first "treason trial" in 1918? This was during the strike in which 5 ANC leaders: D. S. Letanka, L. J. Mvabaza, J. D. Ngojo, H. Kraai and A. Cetyiwe were arrested together with socialist leaders: Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe. T. D. Mweli Skota in his *Black Folks Who's Who* published in 1931 comments:

> "For the first time in South Africa members of the European and Native races, in common cause united, were arrested and charged together because of their political activities."

These and many such activities and events influenced the thinking within the socialist movement and later Communist Party after its formation. In the early days of the Communist Party events seemed to outstrip theory with the result that an effort had to be made to recruit Africans into the CP.

What about those ANC members who were not in the CP? There were many, many trends and tendencies. We shall not deal with the anti-communist trend or the traditional chiefs or even the reformist wing. Our immediate concern is with that wing which was closer to or influenced by or expressed itself positively to the activities of the CP.

Gumede was by far the most outspoken. He told the Brussels conference:

> "I am happy to say that there are communists in South Africa. I myself am not one, but it is my experience that the Communist Party is the only party that stands behind us and from which we can expect something."

Gumede repeated this message in South Africa in his Presidential report to the annual conference of the ANC in June, 1927: "Of all political parties the Communist Party is the only one that honestly and sincerely fights for the oppressed people."

Reminiscing about his experience in Moscow he told large crowds in South Africa: "I have seen the world to come, where it has already begun. I have been to the new Jerusalem."

The Communist Party evaluated Gumede's visit to the Soviet Union in the following words:

> "The establishment of contact between Soviet Russia and the African National Congress through the visit of President-General Gumede and Cape Provincial Secretary La Guma constitutes a manifestation of the revolutionising of the oppressed masses."

This was in March 1928. Two months later, in May 1928, the left wing within the ANC commented:

> "This General Meeting of the Cape Town Branch of the African National Congress, though it affirms the statement of the President, Mr. J. T. Gumede, to the Convention of Chiefs held in Bloemfontein in April last that the African

> National Congress is in no way attached to or affiliated to the Communist Party of South Africa, hereby places its full and unqualified confidence in the CPSA, in view of the fact that of all political parties of South Africa the Communist Party alone unreservedly advocates freedom and equality for the non-European people of South Africa with other races.
>
> "Further, that it is the only political party that champions the cause of the workers of South Africa irrespective of colour and knows no colour discrimination within its ranks.
>
> "Further, as the aims and objects outlined in the constitution of the Communist Party are the correct interpretation of the aims and aspirations of the workers of South Africa, this meeting calls upon the Headquarters Executive of the African National Congress to consider and explore every avenue towards the closest cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa as the only party correctly interpreting the aspirations of the working class of this country, especially the subject peoples."

If by these few quotations an impression is created that the ANC in the twenties was left-wing or sympathetic to the CP, or that this trend was dominant, that has to be corrected. For the bulk of the membership of the ANC the opposite was characteristic. We emphasise this trend because it is always ignored or "forgotten" by bourgeois specialists on the ANC who, because of their political persuasion, want to impose a certain "image" of the ANC. Perhaps this is what is known as "hidden history".

Surprisingly enough it was not only this wing which expressed itself in this way on communism. Even from the unexpected quarters of Selby Msimang such utterances could be heard. In his pamphlet *The Crisis* published in 1936 he exploded:

> "We may live to see, if we have the soul and the righteous determination to do and dare, the history of the overthrow of the Russian Empire by the governed, repeated in our dear Fatherland."

This does not mean Msimang was sympathetic to these sentiments, for he was basically reformist — he was expressing the anger and frustration of some of these petty-bourgeois forces.

This brings us to one of the important questions in dealing with this early period of the ANC. The founding fathers of the ANC are portrayed either as reformist, bourgeois or "radicals who later turned reactionary". Let us put the record straight.

The creation of the ANC by — mostly — African intellectuals demonstrates the significant and dynamic role played by this social group in our liberation struggle. On the rest of the continent the situation was not different. The very existence of this social group disproved racist theories about the so-called inherent — or at times biological — inferiority of the Africans. This period also teaches us about their limitations.

This generation of Congress leaders straddles two historical periods: they witnessed the dramatic changes in African society as a result of industrialisation; they saw the final destruction of African independence and conversion of African peasants into dispossessed rural and urban wage earners. They could not lead this emergent African working class; they were not workers but products of missionary schools which inculcated "discipline", "law and order" and "thrift". They were not Marxists. To expect them to be such is ahistorical and reactionary because it belittles their contribution.

It is true that the ANC went through many difficult periods, with ups and downs and conflicts, but the very fact that it passed these tests and survived all these trials and tribulations speaks a lot for the movement. Much has been written about this period, especially the emergence of the ANC Youth League and Congress Alliance, therefore we shall not repeat it.

Our task is to explain to the masses and younger generation the present policy of the ANC and chart out the future. It is obvious that armed struggle is the best method suited for the continuation of our struggle which started in — or even before — 1912. This has been discussed in many articles in *The African Communist*. Even the politics of armed struggle have been a consistent subject of discussion. We shall therefore attempt to explain the policy of the ANC as expounded at the Morogoro Conference of 1969 and its relevance to our conditions today.

The Morogoro Conference Decisions

When the ANC was declared illegal in 1960 preparations were already made for setting up an external mission. The Lobatsi (Botswana) Conference of 1962 (the majority of whose delegates came from inside the country) emphasised the growing role of the external mission. This conference was followed by consultative meetings of the ANC National Executive in 1965 and 1966.

The involvement of the ANC in the armed struggle in Zimbabwe in 1967 strengthened the urge to engage the enemy in battle: the freedom fighters demonstrated acts of heroism and bravery; there was devotion and dedication to the cause, selflessness, unity and solidarity. This act itself was a demonstration of the internationalism of the ANC and its allies and their belief in African unity.

At the same time these operations showed some inherent weaknesses in the liberation movement — weaknesses which were intensified by the arrest of the underground leadership at Rivonia. There was also a need for the reorganisation of the movement. One may ask: why did it take so long to discover these weaknesses? The answer lies in the fact that there is always a time lag between the demands of history and the development of social forces, except at that precise moment of revolutionary change when both factors coincide perfectly to advance society to a new, and qualitatively different, higher plane. This law applies also to the development and evolution of a revolutionary movement.

The task before the Morogoro conference was not only the question of bringing about organisational changes, but also to chart the way to victory. It was both organisational and politico-ideological. The conference decided that it had become undesirable — under the conditions of exile — to confine the membership of the ANC's external mission exclusively to Africans: Indians, Coloureds and democractic whites could be members of the ANC's external mission on condition that they subscribed to the policy of the ANC.

Two considerations motivated those who adopted this policy: firstly it was necessary to have an umbrella organisation which would unite all revolutionaries — irrespective of ethnic origin — in the democratic process within the external apparatus of the ANC and involve them in the struggle. Secondly there was a moral issue: here are members of the same movement faced with the same problems, striving for the same objectives of building an internal organisation in which each revolutionary is a potential organiser in any community with direct benefit to the entire movement, and where he runs a risk of maximum penalty if captured by the enemy. In such a situation all revolutionaries and activists are of equal worth and their contribution is of equal value. Are they then not equally entitled to participate in discussions and decisions affecting the prosecution of a cause for which they have offered their entire lives as individuals?

This policy was misinterpreted by some as "liquidationism" or "nihilism". But (a) the ANC never for a minute believed that there is no room for or role to be played by the Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Communist Party. On the contrary their role was enhanced. (b) The ANC never lost sight of the fact that the brunt of the struggle must be borne by the Africans. Their effective mobilisation — which means that the struggle must be led by their representatives — has always been the ANC's *first* consideration.

How to implement these principles is a question still under discussion today. It is clearly to the advantage of our victory and our revolution that the oppressed Coloured and Indian people should be *won over* to the side of the Africans and mobilised for the fight. For that matter as many whites as possible must be detached from the fascist government, brought to recognise the inevitable defeat of white minority rule and if possible recruited to the camp of revolutionary democracy, human liberty and equality.

Was this a departure from the original aims of the ANC? If we consider that the aim of the ANC was not just unity of the Africans but unity in *struggle* — unity for freedom — then this was no departure. What had changed were not the aims of the ANC but the conditions: the tasks of the ANC had expanded. Today it is faced with the task of organising and leading all the oppressed people — African, Coloured and Indian — and to winning over to its banner all democratically-minded whites.

Conclusion:

The 70 years of the ANC are rich in content and problems — but the history of the ANC also teaches that these problems can be overcome, provided that the organisation increases its social base, enforces the democratic process, brings back mass participation not only in struggle but also in the decision and policy-making process.

What has made the ANC survive these turbulent 70 years is the fact that it moved with history; changing its social composition, radicalising its policy and ideology; creating new and relevant structures; incorporating some of the tenets of internationalism. Indeed this trend has characterised the progressive liberation movements in Africa which are coming closer to the positions of proletarian internationalism. This is not to say that African nationalists can be at the same time proletarian internationalists, but it does mean that African nationalists can develop to become proletarian internationalists. This is the general trend in progressive Africa and the ANC is not out of step.

Sources:

Lerumo, A., *Fifty Fighting Years,* London 1971.

ANC Speaks — Documents and Statements of the African National Congress.

South African Communists Speak — Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party 1915-1980, Inkululeko Publications, London 1981.

Walshe, P., *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. The African National Congress 1912-1952,* University of California Press, 1971

Karis, T. and Carter, G. *From Protest to Challenge,* Stanford, 1972.
Simons, H. J. and R. E., *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950,* London, 1969.
Forman, L., *Chapters in the History of the March to Freedom,* Cape Town, 1959.
Plaatje, Sol. T., *Native Life in South Africa,* London.

TRANSKEI

5 Years of Bogus Independence

By Themba Ngonyama

October 1981 marked five years of the bogus independence imposed on the Transkei by the Pretoria racists, actively supported by their surrogates and puppets like the Matanzima brothers. The racists spent millions of rands advertising their intentions to give independence to the black people of the Transkei. The now defunct Department of Information under the discredited Eschel Rhoodie and Connie Mulder launched an unprecedented international campaign to prepare a suitable climate for the eventual recognition of the Transkei by the international community. Meanwhile internally nothing was done to test the views of the people of the Transkei by way of a referendum.

In fact the muzzling of the views and the feelings of the people of the Transkei was strengthened through the retention of Proclamation 400 which illegalised meetings and provided for detention without trial of all those considered subversive and dubbed agitators. The African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, proscribed in South Africa, remained banned in the Transkei even on the eve of independence. This was obviously to prevent the exposure of the masses of the Transkei to the radical politics of these two organisations.

What then has been happening in the Transkei during these five years? Have there been any social, economic and political changes? It is true that today the Transkei has a parliament with 75 nominated chiefs and 75 elected members; it has its own flag and its own national anthem. It has a black cabinet, and black army and police force. The ruling party is the Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) led and formed by the Matanzima brothers. It is completely dominated by the Matanzima brothers and their control of the Party is all-pervasive. Non-conformists are expelled and are objects of ruthless harassment from time to time. The former Secretary General of the Party, Mr Pascoe Ludidi, who once questioned the wisdom of opting for Pretoria-type independence, got his marching orders. Conditions of staying in the Transkei became so bad for him that he had to seek asylum in Lesotho. Mr Louis Mtshizane, a prominent attorney in Herschel and also a member of the TNIP, was expelled for questioning the usefulness of making chiefs members of parliament. It is against the background of ruthless persecution and varied forms of intimidation that Matanzima's TNIP has been returned to power in the elections.

Loss of Citizenship

Transkei Independence means nothing to the masses in terms of social and economic changes. In terms of the Transkei Constitution Amendment Act of 1976 all Transkeians domiciled in the Republic of South Africa ceased to be citizens of South Africa and became citizens of the Transkei. The loss of citizenship in South Africa is a source of insecurity for thousands of workers from the Transkei. In practice it means that once a worker loses his job in South Africa he is liable to be endorsed out and be deported to the Transkei. The employers exploit this basic insecurity in an attempt to create a docile labour force as the workers, who are painfully aware of lack of job prospects in the Transkei, are forced to stick to their jobs, sometimes in the face of brutal exploitation and open harassment by the bosses. The recent strike by meat workers in Cape Town and the one led by the Black Municipal Workers' Union in Johannesburg, showed the ruthless exploitation by the bosses of the insecurity of workers from the homelands and in particular those from the Transkei. All the workers connected with the Transkei were thrown into buses and driven to the Transkei border.

The same ruthlessness was displayed by the racist regime during the recent mass evictions of "illegal squatters" from the Western Cape to the Transkei and Ciskei Bantustans. Transkei Prime Minister George Matanzima, expressing shock, complained he had never been consulted at any stage and thousands had been dumped in the Transkei without any warning.

> "To me this forced removal of the people, some of whom have never been Transkeian citizens, is nothing other than evidence that South Africa has no regard for the black man. And more than anything, it shows that the South African Government does not recognise Transkei as an independent state".

Matanzima alleged that two top-level South African advisers had more power in the Transkei than he had himself. The two officials had "played a great part in either influencing or manipulating the development stagnation" in Transkei since 1979. The percentage of the Transkei work force in paid employment dropped from 56% in 1970 to 53% in 1979.

The Transkeian puppet government has not lifted even a finger to protect Transkeian workers. It has done nothing to fight for improvement of working and living conditions for the workers. Recruitment of workers for the South African mines, plantations, docks, roads and building projects, agriculture etc. continues in the pre-independence way. It is still ruthless and inhuman; the recruitment places are filthy and health conditions are appalling. Workers sometimes wait for six months before they can get a contract. As a result of all this many workers are reduced to lamentable levels of poverty and are forced to resort to begging and outright crime. Long queues of workers lining up for jobs are a permanent feature of all Transkeian towns and villages.

The Matanzima puppet administration, like its Pretoria masters, intensely dislikes the idea of independent trade unions. It contemptuously refused to allow workers to be organised into trade unions, labelling them irrelevant. This means that the workers are deprived of an important weapon for improving their living and working conditions. The Transkei has become, like all the other homelands, a dumping place for all those people the racists no longer want in the urban areas; it has become an outlet and receptacle for what Cosmas Desmond called the "Discarded People", the unemployed, the old, the disabled, women and children whom the exploiters, racists and facists throw out of the cities from time to time. The incidence of tuberculosis, phthisis, malnutrition, kwashiorkor etc. testify to the poverty and starvation there.

Meanwhile as the working people sink into degradation, the ruling group including ministers, permanent secretaries, civil servants, managers and directors of para-statal organisations and the petty-bourgeoisie continue to accumulate money and property. The lining of pockets with riches has been astounding in its vulgarity. The ministers, including the Matanzima brothers, own thousands of hectares of land, both for agriculture and ranching. The farms owned by both Kaiser and George Matanzima near Queenstown are examples of the blatant manner in which these creatures have shamelessly earmarked the best developed land for themselves. This enrichment takes place against the background of growing landlessness, soil erosion, low agricultural yields on the small patches of land worked by the peasants. The ministers and the top bracket civil servants have become veritable kulaks using cheap labour on their land; the wages on these farms, as elsewhere in the Transkei, are very low. Landlessness and poverty are the cause of the massive movement of people to the cities even at the risk of arrest and imprisonment.

While the masses struggle to make ends meet, the rulers indulge in the sweet life and all forms of vulgarity like gambling, loose morals and prostitution are rife; some ministers are known to be keeping as mistresses girls of sixteen; Kaiser Matanzima himself has taken a fourth wife. The ministers and civil servants own shops, hotels and bottle stores and are also known to be shareholders in a number of projects. The Mercedes Benz and BMW's have become status symbols for these Rasputin-like puppets ruling the Transkei. Corruption, bribery, extortion and theft by public servants are the order of the day.

In May 1980, the Minister of Finance, Ramsay Madikizela, admitted that during the 1978-79 financial year R2.9 million was spent without authorisation by 10 departments. He complained of the flouting of Treasury instructions. So widespread is corruption that the racists in Pretoria have assumed a large measure of financial control over the administration of the territory's budget. Pretoria has stopped paying over its annual R113.5 million aid payment in bulk and instead replaced it with a scheme giving the Botha regime tight control over how the aid is to be spent. Specific projects have to be approved or disapproved by Pretoria. Thus the half-completed development of the territory's prestige university was halted in July, 1980. There are also reports of teachers and civil servants going without the payment of their salaries for months.

No Development

By way of industrial development, very little has been achieved. Towns like Engcobo, Qumbu, Bizana, Lusikisiki, Tsolo, Mount Frere, Cofimvaba — in fact all the old towns remain the same, outposts of the old Bantu Affairs Commissioner. All that is to be found in the way of buildings is one hotel, a few old shops falling apart, second grade restaurants and a police station. There are very few new houses and one sees the spiralling of slums. The only industrial centre emerging is at Butterworth, not far from East London. Here there are a few manufacturing industries producing biscuits, matches and leather work. There is also the pumping in of Afrikaner capital, part of it private and the other channelled through the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC). The operations of Volkskas Bank are evident everywhere. So are Sanlam and Pep Stores. Huge agricultural schemes and irrigation projects at Lubisi, Ncora and tea plantations in Pondoland have also been started. These agricultural projects thrive through the use of female labour. These women work for long hours for very low wages. Like workers in the other sectors they are thoroughly exploited and have no rights to form trade unions.

Political Crisis

The Transkei faces an ongoing political crisis. The evidence of the growing opposition to the Matanzima puppet government is the regular use of detention without trial, the current existence of a state of emergency proclaimed in terms of the Public Security Act (Transkei) No 30, 1977. This Act was intended to crush the activities of students and scholars during the massive boycott of schools and universities in 1977.

Overt and legal opposition to the puppets centres around the Democratic Progressive Party. This party, formed in the early sixties under the leadership of the late paramount chief of Western Pondoland Victor Poto, was set up to rally all Transkeian patriots to oppose Bantustan independence. Though it fought against Transkeian independence, it tactically agreed to take part in the first general elections in 1963. The Democratic Party, as it was called, won those elections but was defeated by the constitution. Pretoria had foreseen the extent of popular opposition to the Bantustan independence and had included in the Transkeian constitution a clause allowing for two thirds of the legislature to be nominated chiefs. It is known that Chiefs, since the defeat of the Africans during the colonial wars of conquest, have with a few exceptions, been collaborators carrying out the instructions of Bantu Affairs Commissioners. They are willing tools of repression and intimidation. All the stooges willingly implementing Verwoerd's grand idea of homelands are without exception chiefs and headmen. As Pretoria's servants, most of the Transkei chiefs supported Matanzima for the Transkeian premiership.

In order to hamstring the mobilisation of the people of the Transkei for better social and economic conditions, the Transkeian puppets introduced a battery of security laws closely resembling those in South Africa itself. These laws prohibit the holding of meetings without the permission of a magistrate, chief or headman. Since the magistrates, chiefs and headmen are civil servants and supporters of the ruling clique, it has become almost impossible for opposition groups to hold meetings. At every election held since independence the percentage poll has been very low and has consistently gone down since the first general elections of 1963. In that election the percentage poll was 68.8%, but by 1968 this had slipped down to 53.6% and in 1973 was only 42.4%. The most recent election was held on September 24 last year. Before a single vote had been cast Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party was assured of winning 141 out of every 150 seats because of the votes of ex-officio chiefs and unopposed returns. The official opposition Democratic Progressive Party put up only six candidates, and only one, party leader Caledon Mda, was elected. In the end, the TNIP was left with 149 seats out of the 150 in the National Assembly. While hailing the election as one of "high enthusiasm", Chief Matazima admitted: "I don't think many people voted".

This indifference to the electoral process is a reflection of the people's disillusionment with Matanzima and Pretoria. Rather than take part in nakedly rigged elections which are staged against the background of Security Police intimidation, the masses simply stay away. Matanzima banished those who openly oppose his rule. People like Mlamli Makwethu, Louis Mtshizane, Dalagume Joyi, Anderson Joyi, Lamyeni Mgudlwa and others have been arbitrarily removed from their homes; in some cases their houses have been burnt down. On the eve of the general elections the entire executive of the DPP was detained, making it impossible for the party to campaign. DPP leaders like Xobololo, Mgudlwa, Phikashe, Kati and many others have been detained from time to time. Youth leaders of the DPP are often victimised and locked up. The aim is obviously to cripple and weaken the opposition.

Campaign of Repression

The climax of the Anti-DPP campaign was the campaign against the well-known and popular Transkei leader Paramount Chief Sabatha Jonguhlanga Dalindyebo. Through his consistent opposition to Bantustan policy and "independence", Chief Sabatha has come to symbolise patriotism and an unflinching refusal to collaborate with the Pretoria racists. His popularity was becoming an embarrassment both to Pretoria and to the stooges. As a result of the campaigns launched by the DPP under the leadership of Sabatha, the DPP was slowly becoming a mass organisation. The stooges panicked and struck at Sabatha, convicting him on trumped up charges and ultimately deposing him as paramount chief. Paramount Chief Sabatha was forced to leave the Transkei and has since linked up with the ANC.

The crisis gripping the Transkei has also been reflected in the low morale of the police and the army. There have been widespread resignations from both services. The first Commissioner of Police Brigadier Cwele was summarily dismissed for refusing to arrest Chief Sabatha and was subsequently detained together with a minister in stooge Matanzima's government. Mr Saul Ndzumo later died in prison under mysterious circumstances. A number of soldiers are under detention suspected of selling arms to the peasants. Among them is a son of one of Matanzima's henchmen Dr Mbhekeni.

In an attempt to revamp the flagging morale of the Transkei army, puppet Matanzima is making use of the services of the former Rhodesian Selous Scouts and other mercenaries. This bunch of gangsters are notorious for the grisly murders they committed during the liberation war in Zimbabwe. The Selous Scouts were responsible for the murder and maiming of thousands of Africans in Zimbabwe itself, Zambia and Mozambique. The deployment of the Selous Scouts in the Transkei has sinister implications. It is taking place against the background of sabre-rattling both by Pretoria and puppet Matanzima, who is threatening to march into Lesotho accompanied by the South African Defence Force to destroy what he calls an ANC "terrorist" base. Bearing in mind the record of the Selous Scouts, this threat should be seriously heeded.

Meanwhile the ANC has shown its presence in the Transkei. its leaflets are distributed from time to time. The students in the Transkei heeded the ANC call to boycott classes during the racist Republican celebrations last year. More and more Transkeian students are leaving the Transkei and are joining the ANC. In the last few months there have been clashes between MK guerillas and combined Transkei and South African forces. South African Communist Party leaflets were distributed in the Transkei to mark the 60th anniversary of the party. The ANC and SACP have called upon the people of the Transkei to rise and destroy the Mantanzima-Pretoria terrorist dictatorship.

The anger of the people of the Transkei is swelling. This mood has been voiced most forcefully recently in the defiance and resistance by thousands of people in Nyanga, Gugulethu and Langa to forced evictions and deportations. The people are saying "No" to removals and are unanimously refusing to be shunted to the Transkei. As soon as they are dumped in the Transkei, they make a quick about turn and go back to Cape Town to stake their right to live anywhere they can get a job. This fighting mood of the people is creating problems for both Matanzima and Pretoria and is helping to radicalise politics in the Transkei. With all these developments, especially the skilful combination of armed struggle and mass struggle, the Transkei can never be a safe reserve for the racists and their puppet collaborators.

* * *

Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of workers of all nations — such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world and the experience of Russia teach the workers.

V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1914

* * *

ART AND REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE THEATRE OF ATHOL FUGARD

by R.K.

The theatre of Athol Fugard needs little introduction. He is virtually the only South African playwright well-known outside South Africa. He is regarded in the capitalist countries of the west as being one of the finest playwrights writing today. What's more, he appears to have emerged from 'a theatrical vacuum' like St George to challenge single-handed the apartheid dragon.

The liberal critics have assessed Fugard and his work and the St George and the dragon image is now 'established'. Marxists will need to make their own independent assessment of his work and if this image does not measure up to the facts, disestablish it.

Culture and theatre in South Africa [1]

The three distinctive characteristics of South African society are political oppression, economic exploitation and racial segregation. Liberal writers have traditionally attached primacy to the last of these. To them apartheid appears to be primarily a racial structure. Marxists however reject this analysis. Rather they see apartheid as a structure which ensures the provision and reproduction of cheap labour for the capitalist class and which ensures the continued domination by two minority national groups i.e. the Afrikaans and English-speaking whites, of the black majority. Racial segregation and the fostering of ethnic divisions in the various black groupings are regarded as largely mechanisms created for the purpose of preventing black unity and perpetuating the 'national' domination and economic exploitation of the black majority in the interest of the white minority.

In the analysis of cultural relations within this framework the ideas of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci prove useful, especially his concepts of 'rule' and 'hegemony' and his writing about the political function of the intellectual [2]. Admittedly South Africa and Italy are only partially comparable. For instance, the element of 'rule' or direct coercion is greater in South Africa than in Italy and the 'crisis' situation Gramsci refers to, in which the state relies on naked coercion, is virtually the 'normal' situation here. Then again the dominant group, the Afrikaner nationalists, have not attempted to 'legitimize' their own culture in the working classes in the way Gramsci describes. Nevertheless this does not mean that the South African ruling classes do not make complex and intensive use of cultural and ideological forms of domination. Despite their reliance on direct coercion the Afrikaner nationalists also strive for cultural hegemony in the society. In this they have competed with the English-speaking white group, which is powerful in certain fractions of capital and favours the rapid abandonment of pre-colonial forms in the industrial areas in favour of those of modern capitalist society. One must stress however that the cultural rivalry of these two groups has taken place within the overarching framework of their *joint* domination of the black groups in the context of what Steve Biko called 'Anglo-Boer culture', which has been the common cultural weapon in the defence of the common political and economic interests of the white groups. This process becomes increasingly marked as the Afrikaner, English and imperialist capitalists increasingly *rapproche*.

Crucial in the operation of cultural hegemony is the role of the intellectual. Gramsci talks of the traditional intellectuals i.e. the artists and scholars, who 'consider themselves an autonomous group independent of the ruling class' but who 'are tied to the establishment indirectly and in ways sufficiently subtle to permit them to maintain illusions'. However this 'indirection' also 'creates room for independent thought and action'. Their true duty, according to Gramsci, is to use this independence to join the revolutionary classes.

The proletariat proper i.e. that of the black groups, along with the peasantry are, as the classes in society that fundamentally oppose the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary classes, having as Gramsci put it 'the future in their hands'. These classes are able to produce the basis for a genuine alternative hegemony and a non-exploitative society. Fugard's work must therefore be examined as it relates to the interests, cultural, political and economic, of these classes, henceforth referred to as 'the majority'.

It is not possible here to describe the development of theatre in South Africa — from the drama of the pre-colonial societies and the animal satires of Job Moteame and Azariele Sekese in Lesotho of the 1890s to the intense and extensive theatre activity of the years preceding the Soweto uprising in 1976 — or indicate the scope and volume of such theatre, political and non-political.[3] If we use a method adopted from the writings of Raymond Williams [4] we may describe the present situation in the following terms:

residual forms 1. the pre-colonial tradition of oral and dramatic forms, still active in the modern theatre, organically in the various forms of 'black theatre' and in its fossilized version i.e. so-called 'Bantu culture'.

dominant forms 2. the tradition of 'erudite' theatre, based to a large extent on European drama and practised by the intermediate classes of the black groups, often in collaboration with white intellectuals.

3. commercial mass entertainment, whether white, black or jointly controlled.

emergent forms 4. a slender tradition of socialist theatre e.g. in Cape Town in the 1930s [5] and Andre van Ghyseghem's work in Johannesburg at the same time. This tradition is part however of the wider international socialist theatre movement.

5. organic working class theatre.

The last of these traditions is obviously crucial and therefore something needs to be said about it. Unfortunately the early cultural history of the South African working class is inadequately recorded. However the picture from the 1950s on is clearer. The state of musical entertainment and dramatic activity at that time has been described by Harry Bloom, the main author of the script of the famous musical, *King Kong:*

> "There were... the singing groups who seemed to spring up in every shack and back alley of the townships. To most there was no hope of an audience except the end of term school concert or the crowd gathered around the brazier in the backyard. But some developed their art to a high level and made the professional circuit of shanty-town parties and concerts. They were at their best when singing of the simple (sic) things of their own world, or about events in newspapers. There was a real vogue for this kind of popular song, often treated with sharp satire. There would be a bus boycott, and suddenly songs were circulating on the theme "Azikwelwa — we refuse to ride-" a foot-sore yet encouraging evocation of the daily ten-mile walk to and from work. Or a riot in Dube Township, and the whole tragedy would be celebrated in a ballad. Or it might be the Treason Trial or a rail smash that sparked off the musical invention of these groups."[6]

In addition to music and dance there were certain forms of theatrical activity within the structure of the dance or concert programme itself:

> "Because of the lack of suitable plays and halls, trained producers, and playwrights, the only form of theatre that was ever seen on the township stages besides 'variety' was in the nature of impromptu, unduly protracted and boring sketches with the actors trying desperately to raise a laugh from the audience."[7]

That these sketches were always boring and incapable of raising a laugh is contradicted by other writers. According to one, Harry Bloom and Ian Bernhardt of the Union of Southern African Artists paid a visit to Eastern Native Township near Johannesburg to listen to Tommy Ramakgopa's singing group, Lo Six: "The visitors ... sat enthralled in a little room, illuminated by flickering candlelight. Particularly stimulating was the brilliant mime of a little clown called Jabulani, who performed a series of riotous mimes."[8]

Another writer, writing in 1979 of the 'act' which 'in the period culminating in the fabulous 50's was the in-thing', recalled:

> "Victor Mkhize, Louis Rathebe were some of the popular individuals who used it. The Manhatten Brothers, the Inkspots, the Woody Woodpeckers, the Midnite Kids and other close harmony groups never ended an entertaining programme without a sketch. Many theatre-going people hold the view that today's township plays are strictly speaking extended forms of the sketch... The sketch was always part of a concert programme."[9]

My own reading of contemporary newspapers substantiates this description.

What then emerges from the above evidence is that in the 1950s at least there was in existence in the black urban areas a genuine, independent, working class musical and dramatic culture which was widespread and relevant to the everyday experiences of the people, including the political. This culture functioned organically in the life of the community and made reference to and judgements about situations like bus-boycotts, 'riots', rail disasters and political trials and was performed at celebrations, concerts, political rallies and funerals. Performance was not limited to a small group of specialists but as Bloom noted "singing groups seemed to spring up in every shack and back alley in the township".

This organic working class cultural activity was greatly weakened in the late 1950s when certain white impresarios became aware of its commercial potential and began to package it for the consumption initially of white South African audiences and later for export. However since then, and especially after the tightening up of segregation in the theatre in 1965, the subsequent collapse of the white-controlled entertainment companies and the expansion of the urban working class, working class music and drama have continued to thrive in various forms.

Athol Fugard

It is on to the above social and cultural background that we have to project the work of Athol Fugard. For instance if we make the Marxist insistence on the importance of class factors it becomes obvious that to oppose apartheid in its racial aspects alone is not necessarily to support the political aspirations of the South African majority. It can equally betoken support of capitalism in its liberal or progressive manifestations. In addition Gramsci's concept of cultural struggle and the role of the intellectual puts us on our guard concerning intellectuals who can, despite their apparent independence and even dissidence, serve the interests of the dominant classes in the society. Fugard's dissidence need not necessarily mean that he is not linked to the dominant classes or that his work does not serve their interests.

Fugard's work has been admired in accordance with certain liberal aesthetic criteria, which of course are part and parcel of the ideology of liberalism itself. For instance it is admired by some because it is not 'political' or 'protest' theatre e.g.

> "Protest writing — writing which seems to illuminate a corrupt situation, and implicitly calls for action — may have only an ephemeral value (sic) but it certainly has a function in the continuing struggle for liberation. Fugard's work, however, does not belong in this category etc."[10]

Instead it portrays the 'human condition' in general as it manifests itself in the particular circumstances of apartheid South Africa e.g.

> "Rather, he is a man whose vision of the human predicament has evolved over the years of working in the theatre... The characters in his plays are involved less in the struggle against specific political oppression... than in the more general attempt to understand what life is."[11]

Marxists cannot afford to share the liberal distrust of politics or protest in art. Unlike the liberal, the Marxist artist sets out to change the world. His art is a part of the struggle of the revolutionary classes. Its function is and must be political. The Marxist does not accept the generality and universality of the 'human condition' concept either. The 'human condition' is neither uniform nor static but ever-changing and determined by particular quite concrete socio-economic factors.

If we look at Fugard's non-collaborative plays i.e. excluding *Sizwe Banzi* and *The Island,* we find they reflect the human effects of migrant labour (obliquely in *Nongogo*), racial classification (*The Blood Knot, Statements*), the Group Areas Act (*Boesman and Lena*) and the Immorality Act (*Statements*).[12] Apart from the early play, *Nongogo,* Fugard has chosen to deal with explicitly racial legislation. By showing the human effects of such legislation he has effectively demonstrated its inhuman nature. Fugard's achievement in this respect is considerable. No one can surely doubt his commitment to the eradication of racial segregation of the kind these plays reflect.

The point though is that there is no depiction in these plays of other more fundamentally oppressive aspects of the apartheid system. For instance, the inability of a few white and black individuals to love each other and marry, though deplorable, cannot be compared in terms of human loss and misery with the dumping of reservoirs of cheap black labour in the undeveloped and unsustaining veld. The latter is absolutely central to the lives of the majority of South Africans, the former on their fringes. In these plays Fugard's opposition to apartheid confines itself to an indictment of racialism but not of the exploitative and destructive nature of capitalism as it operates in South Africa. The effect of emphasizing the form is to obscure the latter, which is especially regrettable when a playwright's work can command an audience in the capitalist countries whose ruling classes reap the superprofit produced by the creation of such labour reservoirs, to name but one example.

Then, if the legislation the effects of which Fugard examines in these plays shows selectivity, so does the human reaction to them. As Ursula Edmans accurately observes, in Fugard's plays his characters "tend to emerge with immense dignity. Life may be protracted misery and pain, but, somehow, one can, and must, make at least a gesture of defiance." (p.44) "Stoic endurance" (p.48) is the keynote. Momentary escape from the situation in dreams and charade characterise *The Blood Knot.* In *Statements* love transcends for pitifully short moments the reality of the lovers' situation. But by and large beyond endurance there is little more than 'a gesture of defiance'.

But South African history testifies to the *daily* struggles of the oppressed majority. There have been and still are strikes, boycotts, uprisings, sabotage, urban guerilla actions, passive resistance, stonings, killings, creativity, music, dance, protest literature and journalism, political theatre, poems and recitations, political parties and associations — all manner of struggle. Yet where in Fugard's work is any of this? Compare for instance the battle of the people of Crossroads to resist removal with the behaviour of Boesman and Lena. Again therefore Fugard's portrayal of 'the human condition' in South Africa is partial — in both senses.

Some aspects of Fugard's ideology have been well identified by the South African writer and critic, Lewis Nkosi, whose criticism of Fugard's first three plays deserves to be better known.[13] He notes that in *The Blood Knot* Zach, the 'black' brother, "lives only on the physical or sensual level and has no intellectual equipment of any sort. This brings him very nearly on the level of the subhuman." This element returns much later in *Statements* in the following interchange between Errol, a Coloured, and Frieda, a white, on how they would spend 43c if it was all they had:

> **Man:** Ten cents for bread... that would last the whole day... ten cents for cooldrink.
> **Woman:** Buy milk.
> **Man:** No. When we're thirsty we drink cooldrink. Twenty-three cents left. What would you do? What do you think you'd want? You got something to eat, you're not thirsty.
> **Woman:** Save something for tomorrow.
> **Man:** No. There's no tomorrow. Just today. (p.81)

The racial stereotype here needs no gloss. However in Fugard's depiction of Zach and other black workers, such as Moses and Tobias in *No-Good Friday* and Outa in *Boesman and Lena,* factors of race and class are compounded. These proletarian characters are characterized by their lack of initiative and particularly their inarticulateness. Outa in particular can only murmur unintelligibly in 'Xhosa' — Fugard provided no actual dialogue for him. Incredibly Fugard has imagined in Outa a Xhosa labourer in the Eastern Cape who knows not a word of English or Afrikaans. Outa, Tobias, Moses — these are the dumb and bereft African workers, mute and suffering, with which literature written by whites and the ruling classes abounds. Even when the black man is educated, like Willie in *No-Good Friday,* it is the initiative of the white priest, Father Higgins, that prompts him to take action against the gangster, Shark.

It is to this early play, *No-Good Friday,* that we must turn for a more detailed understanding of the development of the ideology implicit in Fugard's work. In Nkosi's words, the play dealt with 'the gang protection racket in Johannesburg townships'. "An educated African (who) must provide some leadership in the community" is faced with the choice: "to defy the thugs and refuse to pay up his share or live forever in fear of the gangs". But, as Nkosi points out, Fugard posed quite the wrong questions. The choice was not, as Fugard misrepresented it, "between co-operation with the forces of law and order or submitting to the lawless tyranny of the *tsotsi* element". The population of Sophiatown, where the action takes place, is a victim of both the forces of "law and order", who enforce the apartheid system, and the gangsters who take advantage of it. Gangsterism is merely a facet of the majority's oppression. The real enemy is the oppressor. The play obscures this fact. By concentrating resentment on the gangsters Fugard substituted a phoney struggle for the real one.

Then the nature of the action Willie takes is personal and self-sacrificial, in the actual circumstances quite futile, and not organized, communal or political. The key to this evasion is contained in the play's treatment of Watson, the nationalist politician. It is worthwhile noting that 1958, the year in which Fugard and the others prepared and then performed this play, was a portentous one in the history of political struggle in South Africa. Watson is the only evidence in Fugard's plays of a period when the African liberation struggle was at a high peak.

He is presented as corrupt and ridiculous. He spends all day thinking up fine phrases for a speech at a meeting of the organizing committees. His solution to one of the gangster's murders is "to put forward a resolution at the next congress deploring the high incidence of crime". (p.160) He talks of "the liberatory movement", "the heavy boot of oppression" and he calls for action and the rejection of a £3 a week wage. He is all rhetoric and no action. Undoubtedly there were African Nationalist politicians of the Watson kind but as there is no other representative of the political organizations in this or Fugard's other, non-collaborative plays, the effect is to discredit political action and distort the legitimate accusations Watson's rhetoric contains.

The only other character in the play who raises such issues is Shark, the gangster:

> "You done me dirty, Willie. You done me all wrong. You went to the police like any cheap blabbermouth to cause me trouble... To the police... The bastards who lock us up for not carrying our passes." (P. 157)

This is an accurate description of the South African police but it is given to Shark, a criminal and a murderer, to express it and again the truth is evaded.

Why does Fugard in his non-collaborative plays discredit or ignore the people's struggle? Why does Fugard's depiction of blacks, in particular black workers, suggest a lack of initiative, inarticulateness, an inability to do more than endure — attributes which historically are only a part of the picture?

A number of answers suggest themselves. Let us restrict ourselves to three: race, class and culture.

Fugard's whiteness determined that from birth he would live separately from the majority, though through his experiences as a young man at the Native Commissioner's Court in Johannesburg, through visits to Sophiatown, his early work with black actors in Johannesburg and later with the Serpent Players, he was able to transcend to some extent his racial isolation.

As an artist or "traditional intellectual" whose material subsistence depended on, initially, organs of state power and culture eg. the Native Commissioner's Court and the National Theatre Organization and, later, those of the progressive sections of the English-speaking group and liberal institutions and commercial establishments abroad like theatres, publishing houses, film and television companies etc, Fugard belonged to the English-speaking intermediate classes. The ideology of these classes was in itself the main factor which prevented Fugard from recognizing in the majority and its revolutionary potential the real hope for transforming the society whose inhumanity and injustice he portrays so vividly, if partially, in his plays.

Race and class together account for the third factor — Fugard's lack of knowledge of the culture and languages of the majority. Fugard speaks no indigenous African languages. This means that though as an Afrikaans speaker he has had entrée into the language and culture of the Coloureds in South Africa and as an English speaker into that of educated Africans, the life and culture of the majority, as previously defined, has remained for him inaccessible. His efforts to transcend racial segregation by developing contact with Africans were thus in the main confined to contact with educated English speakers in white areas or in other words with the intermediate classes of the African group.

This limitation has had serious consequences for his work. Firstly it has inhibited his ability to see and depict South African life whole. Effectively the life and struggle of the bulk of his compatriots are removed from his experience and therefore his work. This has resulted in inauthentic depiction, the propagation of the oppressive stereotypes and distorted political meanings. As Lewis Nkosi remarked about *Nongogo:* "Athol Fugard could not and really did not know anything about the life of an African prostitute." This remark could be applied to Fugard's knowledge of the life of the African majority in general.

Secondly it has meant that Fugard's work, in its philosophical assumptions and artistic practice, is not organic. To an extent in fact it retains a colonial character. Fugard has never contradicted Robert J. Green's basic implication that Fugard is a *European* in Africa, which is contained in the assumption that only European or 'western theatre' not indigenous traditions can sustain him.[14] Rarely does Fugard indicate that African or South African thought and culture have influenced him and in his non-collaborative work there is little to suggest it has. While he makes no mention of Fanon, Cabral, Nkrumah, Nyerere, Achebe or Ngugi, he repeatedly refers to Camus, Sartre, Becket, Brecht and Grotowsky as having influenced him.

Above all it has meant that he has been largely cut off from the great volume of creative effort in which the majority in his own country have expressed their lives, especially the rich indigenous theatre traditions from the pre-colonial societies to the bustling, vital theatre of the industrial urban areas. As it is, the repertoire of dramatic techniques, tones and language he employs in his non-collaborative plays is limited. He has worn threadbare the acted-out fantasy or recollection device, to name but one example. The indigenous traditions, with their rich store of music, dance, humour, characterization, protest and satire, would surely enrich his work. The extent to which Fugard has created alone and outside these traditions has been his own choice — and, I would submit, very much to his disadvantage.

But one might ask what can Fugard as a white intellectual, separate from these traditions by race, class and culture, be expected to do in the circumstances? His isolation is surely the tragic result of the South African situation.

"Stoic endurance" in "tragic" situations is precisely the attitude which Fugard himself expresses or depicts in his plays and it is precisely this attitude for which in this essay I am criticising him. Gramsci calls on the traditional intellectual to join the revolutionary classes. We must call on Fugard to accept the commission of his society and throw himself and his art whole-heartedly into the struggle of the oppressed majority in South Africa.

This more than many artists, black or white, he has done. His production *No-Good Friday* quite transformed the nature of "erudite" theatre of the black intermediate classes. First of all the play was South African rather than European. More particularly it dealt with the dilemmas and problems of this African people in the urban as opposed to the traditional or pre-colonial milieu. *The Blood Knot* was quite revolutionary in that, acted by one black and one white actor, it dealt quite explicitly with the relationship of racial groups in the modern South African context and by implication attacked their artificial separation. Fugard's work with the Serpent Players and especially *Sizwe Banzi* and *The Island* represents an extremely important and influential contribution to the development of South African theatre.

But Fugard's involvement in such theatre has been only partial and he has shown some prevarication. When theatre was more effectively segregated by Proclamation R26 under the Group Areas Act in 1965 Fugard began writing for and working in the segregated white theatre, an area in which he has operated until recently. At that time too he went so far as to attack the boycott of South Africa by overseas playwrights, which he had previously supported, in order to justify his involvement in segregated white theatre. Even his work with the Serpent Players did not originate in full-blooded commitment. As he himself described it:

> "There was a knock on the door one night and in walked (some of those who were to become future members of the Serpent Players). I despaired really, I was very tired after the tour (of *The Blood Knot*) and I didn't really feel like getting involved with actors so soon — it's very exhausting — but they persisted, and I felt guilty... so that was the beginning of Serpent."[15]

One can only juxtapose against this the following by Steve Biko on the question of "white liberals":

"How many white people fighting for their version of a change in South Africa are really motivated by genuine concern and not by guilt?" (*I Write What I Like,* p.65).

And what of *Sizwe Banzi* and *The Island,* the magnificent results of Fugard's transcendence of the racial delimitations? The answer to this question requires another essay. In brief, I believe that these two works are far and away the best work Fugard has been associated with but that their effectiveness is still limited by Fugard's ideology, which dominates in the plays. Kani and Ntshona's real knowledge and masterful depiction of the life of black people in the Eastern Cape are weakened by their acceptance of Fugard's interpretation of it.

In *Sizwe Banzi* this means that despite the play's grounding in the proletariat's experience and its crucial exposure of international capital's responsibility for the bitterness of it, the stoicism and passivity of the early plays are not radically transformed, as for instance in the following three extracts:

> **Man:** *(turning away from Buntu to the audience.)*
> What's happening in this world, good people? Who cares for who in this world? Who wants who?

> Who wants me, friend? What's wrong with me? I am a man. I've got eyes to see. I've got ears to listen when people talk. I've got a head to think good things. What's wrong with me?
> *(Starts to tear off his clothes.)*
> Look at me! I'm a man. I've got legs. I can run with a wheelbarrow full of cement! I'm strong! I'm a man. Look! I've got a wife. I've got four children (p.35)

and

> **Buntu:** ...When the white man looked at you at the Labour Bureau what did he see? A man with dignity or a bloody passbook with an N.I. number? Isn't that a ghost? When the white man sees you walk down the street and calls out, 'Hey, John! come here' ... to you, *Sizwe Banzi*... isn't that a ghost?...
> Stop fooling yourself. All I'm saying is to be a real ghost, if that is what they want, what they've turned us into. Spook them into hell, man! (p.38)

and

> **Buntu:** ... It's like my father's hat. Special hat, man! Carefully wrapped in plastic on top of the wardrobe in his room. God help the child who so much as touches it! Sunday it goes on his head, and a man, full of dignity, a man I respect, walks down the street. White man stops him: 'Come here, kaffir!' What does he do? *(Buntu whips the imaginary hat off his head and crumples it in his hand as he adopts a fawning, servile pose in front of the white man)*
> 'What is it, Baas?'
> If that is what you call pride, then shit on it! Take mine and give me food for my children. (p.43)

In these very strong extracts the common factor is pride or dignity. The statement is that racial discrimination as practised in South Africa sullies the legitimate sources of self-esteem e.g. strength, manhood, fatherhood, humanity. Buntu, whose name means 'humankindness' in its full early meaning, persuades Sizwe that to rescue wife and family from hunger and thirst pride is a necessary sacrifice. But once again the discussion diverts us from searching for ways to bring *both* starvation *and* humiliation to an *end* into ways of enduring them. To survive, to become a thorough-going ghost "if that is what they want", not to change the system, remains the burden of the arugment.

At the core of *The Island* is the Antigone exemplum, a theme that has greatly attracted the liberal imagination both in South Africa and elsewhere and which is at the centre of Fugard's work from *No-Good Friday* to *Dimetos.* Fugard's dominant theme is the isolation of man. Recently he spoke of a new idea "stirring" in him — "it is a man alone again", he said. "Dimetos was a man alone. Marais, in the new film *The Guest,* is a man alone — there are other people but the predicament is being alone." [16] One may leave the critique of this particular aspect of the bourgeois tragic vision to Raymond Williams[17] and quote instead

Ngugi wa Thiong'o's criticism of the work of Wole Soyinka, a criticism which with little modification applies to Athol Fugard:

> "Soyinka's good man is the uncorrupted individual: his liberal humanism leads him to admire an individual's lone act of courage, and thus often he ignores the creative struggle of the masses. The ordinary people, workers and peasants, in his plays remain passive watchers on the shore or pitiful comedians on the road."[18]

Let Fugard therefore follow the implications of his early work and that with the Serpent Players to their logical conclusion. Let him abandon his work in the theatre of white South Africa, whether so-called "multiracial" or not, and turn his attention away from London, Paris and New York to the cultural and dramatic activity of the majority in his own country and throughout the world. Let him go beyond collaboration with the black intermediate classes i.e. the collaboration which produced *No-Good Friday, Sizwe Banzi* and *The Island,* to a real involvement in the life and art of the majority. Such an involvement would I believe lead to the artistic enrichment of his work and to the adoption of the democratic ideology of socialism.[19] His work would then be of greater value to the people in their struggle for a non-exploitative South Africa than it has been up to now.

Notes

1. This account will unfortunately be extremely brief. For more details refer *Black Theatre in South Africa,* International Defence and Aid fact paper on Southern Africa, 2 (June 1976); G. Kente and others, *South African People's Plays* (African Writers Series, 1981); Robert McLaren, 'Theatre and Culture Struggle in South Africa: aspects of theatre on the Witwatersrand between 1958 and 1976', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds, 1979), Mshengu, 'After Soweto: People's Theatre and the Political Struggle in South Africa' in *Theatre Quarterly,* 9, No. 33 (1979), 31-38. See also feature on theatre in South Africa in *Theatre Quarterly,* 7, No. 28 (1977) and all issues of *S'ketsh',* the South African people's theatre magazine — address: New Classic Publications, P.O. Box 5417, Benoni South 1502, South Africa.

2. 'Rule' is expressed in directly political forms and in times of crisis by direct or effective coercion. But the more normal situation is a complex interlocking of political, social and cultural forces, and 'hegemony', according to different interpretations, is either this or the active social and cultural forces which are its necessary elements — Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature,* (London, 1977). p.108. See also Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith (London, 1971), pp. 5-23. For a short introduction to Gramsci's writings see James Joll, *Gramsci* (Glasgow, 1977).

3. See sources referred to in note 1 above.

4. Numerous writings including *Marxism and Literature, Culture and Society, The Long Revolution, Drama from Ibsen to Brecht, Modern Tragedy.*

5. E. Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope,* (Madison, 1964), p.312.

6. H. Bloom, *King Kong* (London, 1961), pp.7-8.

7. Programme note — AMDA's *Three One Act Plays* (1961)

8. Programme note — Union Artists' *King Kong* (1959)

9. Sipho Sepamla in *Sketch* (Winter, 1979), p.18.

10. Ursula Edmans in *Red Letters,* No.8 (1978), p.44.

11. Ibid.

12. *No-Good Friday* (1958) was also a collaboration involving Lewis Nkosi, Nat Nakasa, Bloke Modisane and others. Fugard's 'segregated' plays are not here discussed i.e. *Hello and Goodbye, People Are Living There, Orestes* and *Dimetos. Boesman and Lena* was only acted by black actors almost ten years after it was written but it is discussed here because it depicts black life.

13. See *South African Information and Analysis,* May, 1968 (Paris).

14. 'This substantial body of work (i.e. Fugard's) was done in a theatrical vacuum, with no effective tradition of 'western drama' in South Africa within which Fugard could place himself and learn his craft... Fugard's talent is at work quite bereft of any sustaining tradition etc'. 'The Drama of Athol Fugard' in *Aspects of South African Literature,* ed. C. Heywood (London, 1976), 163-173.

15. Interview with Mary Benson in *Theatre Quarterly,* 7, No 28 (1977), 77-83.

16. Fugard's equation of 'a *man* alone' and 'being alone' is another aspect of his work one might explore. Male chauvinism is a dominant aspect of South African writing and society in general and yet another lesson we and Athol Fugard need to learn.

17. See *Modern Tragedy.*

18. 'Satire in Nigeria' in *Protest and Conflict in African Literature* edited by Cosmo Pieterse and Donald Munro (London, 1969).

19. The socialist artist in South Africa does not need to declare his socialism. There are many ways of fighting the socialist cause in art and literature in South Africa without offering the state the opportunity to crush one.

WHY I WANT TO JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By Bamb'uzufelekhona, Maputo

I am the second born in a family of three children — all boys. My parents were divorced when I was twelve years of age. Father left us and we had to remain with mother and granny. Mother did not have any qualifications and thus found it very difficult to meet our needs. Granny was bedridden. My elder brother had left school at standard five and did not become of any help to the family either. He was in and out of work and prison.

I had to abandon my dream of becoming a lawyer to help mama make ends meet. I changed my course for a commercial course (secondary school) so that I could finish school early and help with the schooling of my younger brother. Though I passed my examination with the highest marks in my class I could not get a bursary as it had conditions to make me a citizen of KwaZulu after finishing school. I joined the working class then.

Life outside houses in the township becomes real and fascinating when one is wearing fashionable clothing, buys a lot of beer and has a car if possible. Because of my qualification I could more or less meet this situation whilst on the other hand maintaining the family. In the process of this 'good' life I found myself having impregnated some women. With the advice from friends and family I decided to marry one of the girls. I was nineteen (19) then.

A decision to get married called first and foremost to look into the possibilities of getting a house. I had one against ninety-nine chances. This became an obstacle to me. It had been an obstacle to my mother and father who up to the time of their separation could not get one. As a matter of fact our stay with granny led to the separation itself. So how could I dare this road? I then asked myself why was it that we could not get houses. I answered, because we were black. I started comparing things and came to the conclusion that the whole system in our country was run on injustice. We the blacks were suffering and the whites were enjoying privileges. The country is ours and the government is for the whites and by the whites. I felt something had to be done.

I told mama about it one day and she told me if I dared indulge myself in politics I would find myself rotting away on Robben Island like Mandela. This brought to my mind the days of my childhood when people used to shout: "Afrika Mayibuye". Those were the days when Mandela was arrested. But Mandela was right — no man could live like this and do nothing about it. Something had to be done. There was only one way and that was to fight. That was in 1971 when I took that decison, a decision to spend my life fighting for justice rather than fighting to patch the damage created by the Boers.

In 1972 I met a friend who told us about the existence of the African National Congress. Since he saw that we were prepared (my bosom friend and I) to fight he promised to arrange for our training during our leave. That was in 1974. Then the obstacle became passports which we could not get. Then our friend was arrested in January, 1976. However after June 16th we learnt of border crossings and in November left for Botswana where we joined the ANC to fight for justice.

Whereas I initially joined the ANC to fight for justice in South Africa, I have now discovered that complete justice cannot come only with the victory of the national liberation revolution in our country. I now know and am convinced that it is necessary to continue such a revolution and bring about a socialist revolution which will ensure this justice based on equality of man and the elimination of all forms of exploitation. A study into the history of struggles of other countries and a study of Marxism-Leninism have given me this understanding. However this study did not make me wish to join the Communist Party, to be a Communist, to fight for socialism and communism. I was inspired by a man I met in the Soviet Union, a communist himself.

I met him in his place of work, a hotel. The night before my meeting with the comrade my friends and I had bought a bottle of vodka and were not given change since we had arrived late at the hotel and the bar was already closing. On the next day I asked for the change. I approached the barman who said that he did not recognise me and knew nothing about the money owing. I tried to explain to this man but he insisted that he did not know me. I called another man who knew a bit of English to explain my story in Russian, but he also failed since the barman still said he did not know me. A lot of people gathered around and the barman was embarrassed and he defended himself with the words: "I am a communist, I can show you my Party card; I cannot rob you nor can I rob anyone of his money or anything".

At that point another man came on the scene. At once I recognised him to be the barman who had served me the night before. He had similar features to the one I was arguing with. He greeted me and smiled to show that he recognised me. I smiled back and explained the situation to the crowd. Everybody realised the mistake I had made and the whole thing turned into a big joke. Someone even suggested that one of the barmen should have a clean shave of the head! Everything was over and we went away.

The words of that comrade sunk into my mind — "I am a Communist and I cannot rob you". It was not only the words that were left in my memory but the quality of man Soviet society has produced. Whereas earlier on I had thought of Communists as people who were prepared to die for the cause at an instant, people who worked hard, I had not thought of this most important angle, of honesty and trustworthiness. From that day on I wished I could join the Communist Party of my country, because I felt it is the only party that can produce a society with the calibre of people like the comrade barman.

But first I had to consider my social background. It was full of mistakes. It was full of many bad things that I did before. I found myself guilty and felt this ruled me out from ever joining the Party. However I have learnt that the Party does not condemn people because of their bad social backgrounds, but values them for the role they are going to play in future, values them for what they can become. From the moment I heard that, I felt the life-long burden that I was living with being removed from my shoulders. I am now prepared to begin on a new road to life.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

By Dr Michael Sefali

The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism is nearing completion. Except for South Africa and Namibia, where the liberation struggle against these last strongholds of racist colonialism is intensifying, the majority of African countries have attained political independence.

The liberation movement does not end with the achievement of political independence, however. That only opens perspectives for the struggle for economic liberation which, as V.I. Lenin indicated, was always the main objective in the liberation struggle. True economic decolonisation demands, above all, the dismantling of the economic foundations of neo-colonialism and radical internal socio-political transformations of society.

African scholars are increasingly devoting attention to laying a theoretical framework for the task of economic decolonisation including the restructuring of the international economic relations of the independent African countries. This mobilisation of the African social scientist against neo-colonial policies on the continent coincides with the intensification of the struggle between bourgeois and working-class ideologies.

Regional integration and dependency in Southern Africa have conformed to the general features of the internationalisation of capitalist production relations throughout the world. But in Southern Africa the peculiarities of the integrationist process through the agency initially of merchant capital, finance capital and South African state monopoly capital have led to the emergence of an extreme form of economic dependency of the majority-ruled states of the region on a minority-ruled racist state acting as a regional "sub-imperialist" power. The Republic of South Africa is a neo-fascist state that exercises a regime of political terrorism inside the country in relation to the African majority and aggression and neo-colonialism in relation to the neighbouring independent states of the region of Southern Africa.

The contradiction existing in the developing countries between the demand for independent national economic development and the exploitation of the natural human resources of these countries by the multinational corporations is obvious. This has led, in the mid-seventies, to the former colonies raising the question of a New International Economic Order. The developing countries are dissatisfied with the old world capitalist order in which they occupy a dependent role and have advanced a series of demands for the restructuring of international economic relations on an equal basis.

What then are the main demands of the developing countries for a New International Economic Order and what is the reaction to them by both developed capitalist countries and socialist countries?

The main method of neo-colonialism is the *export of monopoly capital* from the imperialist countries to the developing countries. An important role in this connection is played by the multinational corporations (M.N.C.'s) — approximately 100 industrial giants whose output through their overseas subsidiaries reaches an annual figure of about 500 billion U.S. dollars. While foreign capital investments in the developing countries may have led to some "growth" in some primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economies of the recipient countries, this has taken place to the detriment of the development of independent national economies in those countries and is accompanied by an enormous expropriation of the resources of the economies of the developing countries.

It has been estimated that the annual inflow of new investment by the M.N.C.'s in the developing countries has been in the region of 8 billion dollars as against the outflow of profits and other transfers to the developed capitalist countries in the region of 25 billion dollars. Profits of U.S. corporations from foreign investments exceeded 24 billion dollars in

1978, a threefold increase over 1970. The rate of profit on investments in developed countries was 14% and those in the developing countries of Africa and Asia 65.7%[1].

In the face of this pillage, the developing countries have in the first instance raised the question of sovereignty over their natural resources, including the right of nationalisation with or without compensation. In addition, they demand the control of the activities of the M.N.C. with regard to investment, reinvestment and repatriation of profits. In this regard they demand an international code of conduct regulating the activities of the M.N.C.'s, preventing their interference in internal affairs and regulating their expatriation of profits.

The socialist countries support the just demands of the developing countries to eliminate the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the developing countries by M.N.C's, but the Western countries continue to insist on all sorts of guarantees and "favourable climate" for investments of the multinationals. This obstructionist attitude of the West has slowed down progress on the adoption and application of an International Code of Conduct for the multinational corporations.

The plunder of the developing countries by the imperialist countries is not only confined to the spheres of production, but to the sphere of *trade* too. Monopoly capital controls the economic and trade relations of the developing countries, places them in a position whereby the M.N.C.'s can arbitrarily dictate the low prices for the raw materials of the developing countries, and high prices for the machinery, equipment and technology sold to them. This neo-colonial method of unequal exchange brings billions of profits to the monopolies and inflicts heavy losses on the developing countries, whose balance of payments deficit continues to grow every year, as the following figures show:

The Balance of Payments Deficit of the Developing Countries,
1973-1979
(in billion dollars)

1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
8.0	24.5	40.0	26.0	22.5	33.0	40.0

SOURCE: World Marxist Review, Vol 21 No. 11, 1978.

The developed capitalist countries not only practise unequal exchange in relation to the raw material exports of the developing countries, but resort to increasing methods of discrimination against their manufactured exports. The trade policy of protectionism practised by the developed capitalist countries makes access to their markets difficult for the manufactures from the developing countries and hence undermines the industrialisation plans of these countries.

The developing countries have demanded, firstly, the "indexation" of the prices of their imports and exports; secondly, the establishment of a common fund to stabilise the prices of their primary exports; and finally liberalisation of trade and freer access of their manufactured exports to the markets of the developed capitalist countries and a comprehensive plan of integrated commodity agreements.

View of Socialist Countries

While the socialist countries have declared that in principle they are in agreement with the establishment of a common fund within the framework of an integrated programme for the stabilisation of the raw materials market, the developed capitalist countries have countered with a suggestion for a common fund based on international trade agreements with limited tasks and functions. Hence the Geneva Common Fund Agreement of 1979 providing for a "two window" arrangement falls short of the demands of the developing countries. At the VI UNCTAD Conference in Manila in 1979, the demand of the least developed countries (L.D.C.'s) for the renegotiation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which still favours the U.S., Western Europe and Japan with its tariff discriminations against the developing countries, was rejected by the developed capitalist countries.

Foreign Aid is a form of export of capital that has gained increasing currency and usage in the policy of neo-colonialism in the period since the Second World War. As the former West German Chancellor Erhard pointed out, foreign aid is an instrument of influence of control intended to prevent developing countries from moving to the "Communist block."[2]

The worsening terms of trade of the LDC's force them to resort to foreign aid in order to finance their development plans. However, as the exports of the developing countries continue to decline and as capital resources are siphoned out of these countries through expatriation of profits, payments for patents, purchases, transfer pricing, etc., a "vicious circle" appears whereby in order to repay their old debts, the developing countries have to resort to additional and more onerous borrowing. As a result the problem of indebtedness has become a heavy burden on the meagre resources of the "Third World" as debt servicing absorbs a sizeable portion of their national income.

An approximate estimation from various sources of the total sum owed to governments and private banks in the world money market, by the governments of developing countries, shows the following result:

Developing Countries' External Debt, 1955-1978
(in billion dollars)

1955	1965	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
8.7	37.1	72.9	112.4	137.9	172.9	206.8	250.0	300.0

The developing countries have advanced a series of demands with a view to achieving a transfer of resources and easing the burden of indebtedness. As early as 1970 the U.N. requested an aid target of 0.7 of the GNP of the developed countries; the developing countries themselves have requested general debt clemency involving the extension of the period of maturity of debts from 25 to 50 years and the reduction of interest charge on loans about 0.7%. They have repeatedly asked for cancellation of their irrecoverable debts. Furthermore, the developing countries demand the "untying" of aid to purchases, use of transport and employment of specialists from "donor-countries".

At the Manila UNCTAD conference in 1979, the demand for the renegotiation of public and private debts of the developing countries was rejected by the Western countries. As to the demand for special consideration for emergency aid to about 30 of the least developed countries, they only agreed to give aid "as soon as possible." The West rejects the proposal for the general cancellation of debts and prefers to deal with individual countries on a selective basis, consideration being given to their political orientation. In short they try to take the problem out of the multilateral negotiations within the U.N. framework and attempt to resolve it on a bilateral basis.

The socialist countries' position[3] on the question of aid has been the following: firstly they agree to give financial assistance to developing countries to the extent of their means to do so. Secondly, they emphasise that they, unlike the imperialist powers, bear no historical responsibility for the plunder of the developing countries and, therefore, they argue that there can be no "equal responsibility" in providing aid between them and Western countries. Thirdly, they point out that theirs is the only genuine aid while that of the Western countries is an obligatory compensation for the damage caused, and still being caused to the developing countries through the activities of the multinationals.

Transfer of Technology

Of growing importance in maintaining the dependence of the "Third World" on the developed capitalist countries is the *monopoly and transfer* of technology by the multinationals. According to UNCTAD calculations[4], it costs the developing countries between 30-50 billion dollars annually in the form of payments for equipment, patents, royalties and other indirect payments for acquisition of technology.

In a bid to end this technological dependence, the developing countries demand the transfer of technology to them under an international code to enable them to profit from the scientific-technological revolution. They have also appealed for assistance in the development of their technological capacity. The negotiations for this code of conduct for transfer of technology have been going on inconclusively within UNCTAD because of the negative attitude of the Western countries, which resist the mandatory and universal character of the proposed code of conduct.

In these circumstances, the developing countries are becoming aware of their role in the development of their own technological capacity. They are increasingly realizing their task in the field of establishing their own national research centres, independent of foreign financing; the training of their national technological cadres and the promotion of scientific technological cooperation among themselves.

Because of the external orientation of their economies, the transport infrastructure of the developing countries has been geared towards linking the internal export sector with the foreign market. The dependence of the developing countries on *international transportation* controlled by the West costs the former heavily in the form of high transport charges (especially maritime) and exorbitant handling charges by intermediaries.

In the area of international transportation, the developing countries have raised the demands for the untying of aid to transport means of "donor countries;" the simplification of handling procedures to eliminate the exorbitant profiteering as well as joint ownership of the profitable shipping lines which transport their exports and imports. A text of the "Group of 77" on the latter point was rejected at the last UNCTAD session in Manila because of the pressure applied by Western countries.

The *international payments system* of the world capitalist economy continues as before to serve the interests of the main capitalist powers. Since the collapse of the Bretton Woods gold standard, this system has tended to be based on national currencies of the leading imperialist powers, especially the U.S. dollar. The monetary crisis of the capitalist world of the 1970's has proved that no national currency, let alone the dollar, can replace gold as the basis of international payments. Neither can the reforms along the line of the Special Drawing Rights within the International Monetary Fund bring about a lasting solution.

As the instability of the main reserve currencies of the capitalist world aggravates, especially that of the American dollar, not only the value of the exports of the "Third World" countries declines, but so does the value of their reserve holdings in the West's banks. The U.S.-dominated international payments and credit institutions, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) continue to offer aid to developing countries not only on onerous commercial terms but also with political strings attached. As a condition for aid they demand the scaling down of the state sector in the national economy, pursuit of "open door" economic policies and, generally, neo-colonial orientation in internal socio-economic development.

That is why the developing countries advance proposals for changes in the mechanism of the operation of the international payments system of the capitalist world. They demand, inter alia, the creation of a new international currency run by an internationally-managed Central Bank. They demand that this new International Central Bank be free from the domination of monopoly capital and become part of the U.N. economic system. As a first step towards the creation of a monopoly-free international payments system, they demand democratisation and decentralisation in the management of the present institutions of the world capitalist payments and credit system.

The demands for substantial monetary reforms in the interests of the developing countries have been received with understanding throughout the international community, except from the quarters of monopoly capital where even the very idea of a discussion along the above lines is taboo. Hence the problem remains unresolved to date.

A global impasse has been reached in the international negotiations for a New International Economic Order. Western intransigence, refusal to accept the legitimate demands of the "Third World", has been the main cause. It would have been an illusion to expect much from them as they will not willingly abdicate thier position of domination in the world capitalist economy. Here and there they have been forced to make concessions, but these in no way affect substantially the operations of the present international capitalist division of labour.

The Battle for Economic Liberation in Southern Africa

The struggle of the majority-ruled states of Southern Africa for economic independence is an integral part of the general struggle of the "Third World" countries of the New International Economic Order, except that in Southern Africa this struggle's specific aim is the achievement of liberation from the economic hegemony of the Republic of South Africa and the development of regional co-operation among these countries.

Since the attainment of political independence by these states, individual efforts have been made on a national level, without much success, to disengage from their integrated situation in the Southern African economic complex dominated by South Africa. The collapse of the Portuguese empire in the mid-1970's and the expansion of the zone of liberation up to the Limpopo by the beginning of the 1980's has meant that except for Namibia and South Africa itself, the struggle for political independence has almost been completed.

This new strategic situation in Southern Africa has created more favourable conditions for joint struggles of the independent states of the sub-continent for economic liberation from the racist Republic of South Africa. Hence, the independent states of Southern Africa have declared: *"Our urgent task now is to include economic liberation in our programmes and priorities."*[5]

The first economic summit of heads-of-state and representatives of nine Southern African countries, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe was held in the Zambian capital of Lusaka on April 1st, 1980. The summit discussed the tasks of economic liberation and cooperation in Southern Africa. At the end of the summit, representatives of the nine states adopted a document entitled: "Southern Africa. Towards Economic Liberation. Declaration by the Governments of independent states of Southern Africa."

The declaration laid down the strategy of economic liberation and regional cooperation in Southern Africa in the following words:

> "In the interests of the people of our countries, it is necessary to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa, to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation and to co-ordinate our efforts toward regional and national economic development. This will be as great for Nambia as it is for all the independent states of the region."[6]

In accordance with the directive of the First Summit held in Lusaka on April 1st, a Ministerial Meeting took place in Salisbury on September 11th, 1980 devoted to the discussion of proposals for the permanent institutional arrangements for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and review of preparations for the Second Summit held in Maputo from the 26th to 27th November, 1980. At this Second

Summit, member states met with representatives of donor governments and international development agencies to seek their support for the Lusaka Programme for Economic Liberation. Specific projects were presented and approved for implementation by SADCC.

The strategy for economic liberation, development and regional cooperation in Southern Africa has three clearly deliniated directions. The first direction is the reduction of economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa; the second, the development of regional cooperation and the forging of links of "equitable regional integration" among the majority-ruled states of the sub-continent; the third, concerted action to secure international cooperation for the implementation of regional projects of development. The states of the region also recognise the crucial importance of mobilising regional resources for carrying into effect the strategy of economic liberation.

Priority Areas

Priority areas of regional cooperation were identified at the Second Summit in Maputo in approximately the following order: transport and communications, agricultural development and food self-sufficiency, manpower development, industrial development and co-ordination, establishment of a development fund and energy conservation.

Transport and communications are regarded as the "key to the strategy of economic liberation and the highest priority in the programme."[7] To this end a convention on the establishment of the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission based in Maputo has been signed. Priority projects have already been approved intended to reduce dependence on the transport infrastructure of the Republic of South Africa and for the development of transport and communications links among the independent countries of the region.

Commissions have been established to identify development requirements, articulate programmes in the fields of food production and security enhancement, the development of energy and natural resources, industrial co-ordination, migrant labour, manpower development and training, as well as the establishment of a Southern African Development Fund. Also of great importance to the strategy of economic liberation and cooperation in Southern Africa is the signing under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa of the Treaty for the Establishment of a Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African Countries (PTA).

An institutional mechanism has been established to service the Southern African Development Coordination on a permanent basis. The supreme consultative body will be annual summits of heads of states and representatives of the majority-ruled states of Southern Africa. A Council of Ministers will be responsible for the general supervision of Southern African Development Coordination. This Council of Ministers which meets not less than once a year appoints a Ministerial Committee for programmes in functional areas. A standing Committee of Officials responsible to the Council of Ministers acts as an Executive. Ministers at the Salisbury meeting agreed in principle on the establishment of a permanent secretariat to provide general servicing and coordination of various activities of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference attaches great importance to the establishment of a regional centre for Southern African Studies. In this spirit the Salisbury Communique "welcomed the establishment of Southern African Studies centres in Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe and urged that universities without such centres cooperate with them in the development of their own teaching and research including seeking to arrange secondment to staff to these centres' faculties."[8]

The strategies for economic liberation in Southern Africa have been set out clearly in the Lusaka Declaration. The priority projects for implementation have been identified in the Salisbury and Maputo Communiques. The task now before the majority-ruled states of Southern Africa is to mobilise all the political and material resources necessary for carrying this programme into action. Problems on the path of economic liberation and cooperation in Southern Africa are many and complex, but among them the chief one is the "destabilisation" policy of the racist Republic of South Africa. As a result genuine doubts have been expressed as to whether economic liberation and cooperation are possible in Southern Africa before the dismantling of apartheid.

It is imperative if the strategy of economic liberation in Southern Africa is to succeed, that firstly, majority-ruled states of the region cultivate a common stand in resisting the interventionist policies of the racist Republic of South Africa. Secondly, it is also absolutely necessary that they have an identical conception as to who are their real friends and adversaries in the struggle for political and economic liberation; they should display courage and clarity in recognizing that apartheid South Africa and its allies can never be their genuine friends. Thirdly, only by grasping the anti-imperialist content of the economic liberation war in Southern Africa, by relying on their own strength and the international solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, can the peoples of Southern Africa achieve victory in the struggle for economic decolonisation.

References

1. See Article by Victor Perlo, a leading American economist in *New Times,* No. 20, 1979, Moscow;

2. See *U.S. Library of Congress, Legislation Reference Service. Some Important Issues in Foreign Aid.* Washington, D.C. 1966, p. 15.

3. See for example A.A. Gromyko's Letter to U.N. Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim (*Pravda,* 5th October, 1976).

4. *Development Forum,* October, 1976 p.6.

5. "Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation. A Declaration by the Governments of Independent states of Southern Africa, Made at Lusaka on the 1st April, 1980," *Sadex. The Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange,* Vol. 2, No. 2 March/April, 1980, African Bibliographic Centre, Washington D.C., p. 2.

6. Ibid.

7. See "Communique of Southern African Development Coordination Conference Ministerial Meeting, Salisbury, 11th September, 1980," In: *Sadex,* op. cit. No. 5, p. 1.

8. Ibid. p. 6.

AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENTS

By Azad

EGYPT AFTER SADAT: THE U.S. TAKES OVER

On Wednesday, October 7, 1981, a group of soldiers participating in a military parade in Cairo leapt off an artillery truck, fired directly at the presidential viewing stand and killed President Sadat. Sadat's death was mourned by the ruling classes of the imperialist countries and Zionist Israel. Inside Egypt itself people showed no grief at all. Sadat had been killed just before Eid-al-Adha, the holiest day in Islam, and the Egyptians remained in a holiday spirit. In all the other Arab countries the people regarded his death as just desert for a traitor. At the funeral, President Numeiry of Sudan was the only Arab head of State, and Oman was the other Arab country that sent a representative.

How very different when Nasser died on September 28, 1970. At that time there was an immense outpouring of grief in Egypt, the Arab countries and in progressive circles the world over. Nasser died a hero, Sadat a willing tool and instrument of US imperialism and Zionist Israel — a traitor.

Following the death of Nasser, Sadat, who had assumed power, began the process of dismantling all the progressive advances and policies of Nasser. He unilaterally poisoned the friendly relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and inexorably moved into the economic and military camp of US imperialism. In May 1971, Sadat imprisoned the progressive and democratic sections of the Arab Socialist Union, at that time the only political party in Egypt. In 1972, at the instigation of US imperialism, he expelled all Soviet military technicians and personnel from Egypt. But the following year he disappointed the imperialists by launching a war with Israel. During the war the Egyptian army regained a lot of credibility with regard to their fighting capacity which they had lost in the defeat of 1967. For these victories, especially the bold crossing of the Suez Canal, great credit goes to General Saaduddin Shazli, at that time Chief of Staff of the Egyptian army.

However, instead of the 1973 war leading to a more consistent resistance to Israeli occupation of Arab lands, and for the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinians, Sadat used it as a springboard for his intended reactionary policies. By 1977 he was ready for a sell-out and this was reflected in the Camp David agreements. This treachery opened the door even wider for the penetration of US imperialist and Zionist Israel influence, control and domination of the region. It made the Palestinian resistance movement, under the leadership of the PLO and the democratic forces in Lebanon, including the Lebanese Communist Party, an open sitting target for the continuous murderous acts of aggression committed by Israel.

Economic Policies

This treachery has its economic roots. From the very beginning, Sadat had attacked Nasser's progressive economic policies, policies which were based on the nationalisation of banks, insurance companies and large industrial concerns, control over the flow and operation of private monopoly capital, and closer relations with the socialist countries. By 1974 he introduced the so-called "open door" policy which was a blank cheque to US monopoly capital and had already dismantled state control over key sectors of the economy.

At the time, and even in 1977, large sections of Egyptian society, in particular the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, were happy. The bourgeois class thought that in this way capitalism would take firm and deep roots and that this in turn would entrench their class role and positions. But the "economic miracle" was a mirage. Whilst shops and bazaars were flooded with consumer goods, the standard of living of the masses deteriorated. Furthermore, Sadat had claimed that changing the substance of Egyptian domestic and foreign policies would lead to a reduction in military expenditure. But this was not to be. In fact he increased this expenditure, not to fight the real enemies of the Egyptian and Afro-Arab peoples, but to become a military adjunct to US imperialism's policy of destabilising progressive and revolutionary governments in Africa and the Middle East and of crushing the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

These national and foreign policies led to widespread opposition, ranging from communists and Nasserites to religious groups. Already in 1977 the workers in a number of the main cities and towns in Egypt organised militant resistance to the deteriorating economic situation. In the last few months Sadat tried his utmost to smash the growing opposition and to portray it as controlled by the Soviet Union. He expelled 1,500 Soviet personnel, including the Ambassador and experts working on the Aswan dam, and arrested over 5,000 people, including communists, Nasserites, religious leaders and even liberal professionals.

One of the most influential organisations which still has a legal existence is the Progressive National Unionist Party led by Khaled Moheiddin. This organisation groups under one umbrella Marxists, Nasserites, liberals, religious forces, supporters of the former Wafd party and prominent personalities. Since 1977 this organisation has steadily increased its influence amongst all strata of Egyptian society.

The Egyptian Communist Party, which reformed in 1975 under conditions of illegality, condemned from the very beginning the "open door" economic policies and the Camp David Agreement. At that time it was somewhat isolated and its principled positions had not as yet penetrated the consciousness of large sections of Egyptians. This is no longer so. Many organisations and groups have come out against Sadat's policies and in support of the communists' demand for a National Democratic Front comprising those classes and progressive forces resolutely opposed to the pro-imperialist capitulationist policies of Sadat. The influence of the Egyptian Communist Party is growing, especially amongst the working class, trade unions and intellectuals. It plays a prominent role in semi-legal organisations such as the Committee for the Defence of Workers and Democratic Women and Youth.

The National Democratic Front has now been set up and after Sadat's death General Shazli made a number of statements on behalf of this Front. Even the newspapers in the imperialist countries are compelled to admit that Shazli and the Front enjoy influence inside the army. Shazli has called for the release of political prisoners, democratisation of political and social life and a progressive foreign policy.

It is also hoped to create a National Salvation Front which would be composed of all strata and groups, including those from the right opposed to the present policies of the Egyptian government. The Egyptian Communist Party has said that if such a Salvation Front were to come to power it would give it critical support. But the mass media in the capitalist countries deliberately reduce the widespread opposition to Sadat's policies to what they term "Moslem Fundamentalists" and "religious extremists".

Let us recall that soon after coming to power, Sadat released from prison members of the Muslim Brotherhood and encouraged them and other religious groups to participate in the liquidation of Nasser's achievements and to attack the progressive and democratic forces. However, a number of influential religious groups, under pressure of the masses, came out against Sadat's policies. Some of these religious groups recognise and accept the fact that the Egyptian Communist Party is a necessary factor in the opposition movement. Thus it is clear that before his death there was extensive and deep opposition to the domestic and foreign policies of Sadat.

U.S. Pressure

The outright subservience of Sadat to US imperialist dictates can be judged from the reaction of the war-mongering, rabidly anti-communist Reagan administration. Immediately Sadat was shot, the US Sixth Fleet and Rapid Deployment Forces were placed on alert. Thereafter the Americans interfered, daily, in the internal affairs of Egypt. They put immense pressure on the tottering Egyptian government officials to support publicly Sadat's discredited policies, to detain hundreds and to raise the level of tension in the area. This is undoubtedly a gross violation of a people's right to control its own destiny.

The US ruling class, whilst still debating whether or not to supply Saudi Arabia with the highly sophisticated AWACS radar planes, dispatched two of them to Egypt, carried out other provocative military manoeuvres in the area and planned joint military exercises with the Egyptian and Sudanese armies. It is also well-known that the US imperialists spent millions of dollars to protect Sadat. Nixon presented him with a $2 million armour plated helicopter, AWACS radar planes escorted him on his journeys by air, the communications network was under the influence of US agencies — in particular the CIA — and the US Secret Service had trained their Egyptian counterparts in crowd control, defensive tactics, and intelligence gathering and evaluation regarding assassination attempts on the Head of State and other leaders. But how qualified is the US Security Service to do this job? They were unable to prevent the assassination of President Kennedy, his brother Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King and the attempt on the life of Reagan.

Not surprisingly, the US mass media focussed attention on the army within which there is a great deal of dissatisfaction, one of the reasons being that under Sadat the Security Service received more resources at the expense of the army. Thus US imperialism and its agencies encouraged the Egyptian government to clamp down on the army. What is clear is that the US-inspired Camp David agreement is in serious jeopardy. Without Sadat — with whose personality this policy was closely tied — it will be exceptionally difficult for any other Egyptian to continue in the same way on the same road.

In this situation the European imperialist powers are paying more attention to Saudi Arabia's eight point peace plan which was made public in July 1981. This plan incorporates some of the demands of the progressive forces such as Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied in 1967, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, and the removal of all Israeli settlements established in occupied Arab territories since 1967. One of the main flaws of this plan is that the process of making this plan a reality is completely ignored. We can only assume that the Saudi plan is to involve US and other imperialist powers as the most influential and decisive partners, to exclude the Soviet Union, and to give the PLO a peripheral role. But any plan which does not accept the central role of the PLO and which excludes the Soviet Union can be easily manipulated by the imperialists and Zionists — more so when such reliance is to be placed on US imperialism which is Israel's main financial, diplomatic, political and military backer and which still regards Israel as the main base for its policies of destabilisation in the Middle East.

Soviet Initiative

This plan is also offered at a time when the initiative of the Soviet Union to hold a conference of *all* the interested parties to the disputes and conflicts in the Middle East is gaining ever more support. The Soviet Union, as the leaders of Syria, Algeria, North Yemen, Libya and the PLO have repeatedly stressed, is on the side of the patriotic forces of the Arab region who oppose the intrigues, manoeuvres, conspiracies and aggression of US imperialism and Zionist Israel. The Soviet Union, consistently and on a principled basis, stands and fights for a just and stable peace in the Middle East.

Following the death of Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, the former Vice-President, was elected President. His first action was to arrest hundreds of army officers and soldiers in the name of "law and order" and "stability".

The deep-seated opposition to Sadat's policies can also be seen by the fact that following his death, armed clashes occurred in Asyut, about 260 miles from Cairo, and in Cairo itself. Even at the funeral, troops guarding the route and the funeral procession were not issued with live ammunition. But Mubarak cannot have peace and stability if he is to launch a witch-hunt against the army, keep thousands imprisoned, and pursue the same course of treachery and anti-Sovietism. Whether Mubarak will have the courage to pursue different policies remains to be seen. What is certain is that the progressive and democratic forces in Egypt and the other Arab countries will intensify the struggle until Egypt takes its rightful place in the camp of all those interested in peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

THE GAMBIA: THE MASSES REVOLT

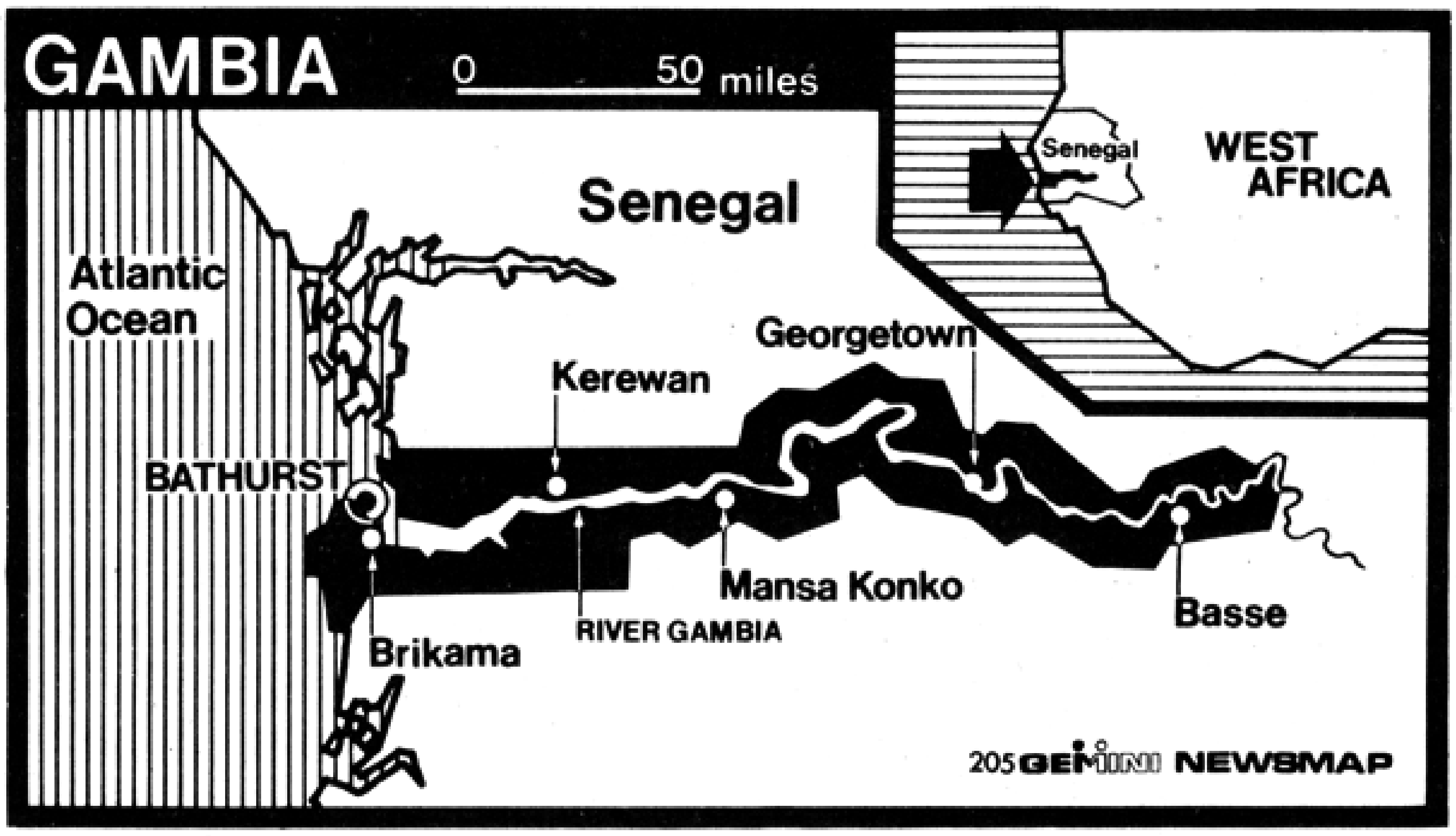
At the end of July, 1981, a popular insurrection led by army officers overthrew the corrupt regime of Jawara and installed the Supreme Council of the Revolution in power. From the inception the leaders of the insurrection made clear their anti-imperialist, democratic positions and desire to take their country out of the sphere of neo-colonial control and domination.

The socio-economic roots of this insurrection can be traced to the widespread corruption which involves wide sections of the Gambian ruling elite, attempts by the regime to provoke tribal clashes in order to weaken the opposition, and the abject poverty of the masses. The Gambian comprador bourgeoisie, in total disregard for even the most elementary well-being of the workers and peasants, amassed great wealth and indulged in open corruption with the connivance of foreign capital. Furthermore, the Jawara regime had agreed to submit the country to the draconian anti-people's conditions of the World Bank and the IMF. This submission, as in the other developing countries, led to even further deterioration of the living standards of the masses, unemployment, massive speculation in the price of basic commodities, 50 per cent increase in the price of petrol and a failure to implement promised salary increases. Thus when the army officers overthrew the Jawara regime their action was warmly welcomed by the popular masses.

However, the forces of counter-revolution, aided by imperialism, intervened. The tiny Gambian army, which is no more than a limited field force – was overthrown by the invading Senegalese army. Jawara, who was at that time in London attending the junket surrounding the wedding of Prince Charles, was flown to Dakar in a special plane provided by the Senegal regime. The invading army, regarded as the most powerful and best equipped in francophone Africa, expected to complete their task within twenty four hours. However, they met with stiff resistance from the Gambian army and people, and in the ensuing battles in which half the Senegalese army participated, thousands were killed and injured and much material damage was caused.

Abdou Diouf, the Senegalese head of state, justified this invasion in terms of the Senegalese-Gambian accords of 1965. But these accords only called on Senegal to offer assistance in the event of external aggression. In the Gambia there was no external aggression; it was a purely internal affair. Even Jawara, to the chagrin of his hosts, admitted this in press conferences held in Dakar. This invasion was gross interference in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state and a violation of the right of a people to choose their own social system.

It is also clear that the invasion of the Gambia had the backing of France, Britain and the United States. France still has thousands of troops in Senegal. It is evident that the Senegalese government could not have decided to commit half its army to the invasion of the Gambia without a guarantee from the French government that the French troops in Senegal would ensure the safety and security of the Senegalese government.



There was a conspiracy of silence about this invasion in the mass media of the imperialist countries. When they did comment it was to distort the aims and aspirations of the Supreme Council of the Revolution and to lend legitimacy to the invading troops. The imperialist powers, together with the Senegalese government, feared the setting up of a progressive and democratic government in the Gambia which is geographically surrounded by Senegal. The imperialist powers regard Senegal as central to their attempts to set up aggressive inter-African military blocs which could, in the name of Africa, conduct imperialist policies in the region.

In Senegal a very wide spectrum of public opinion vehemently opposed the actions of their government. The fraternal Communist Party — the Independence and Workers' Party of Senegal (PIT) — characterised the invasion as criminal and called upon all democratic and progressive forces to condemn the government's action. On Auguest 4, 1981, seven organisations, representing a cross section of political opinion — communists, revolutionary democrats and liberals — issued a joint statement. Amongst the seven were PIT and the Mouvement Démocratic Populaire led by Mamadou Dia.

The latter had been Prime Minister of Senegal just after independence, but was later arrested and sentenced to death, mainly because of his firm opposition to neo-colonialism and his advocating of closer links with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Fortunately public opinion inside and outside the country forced Senghor to rescind that decision. Today Mamadou Dia is still a popular political personality with influence amongst a wide spectrum of Senegalese society.

In their joint statement the seven organisations said that the Senegalese invasion was a gross interference in the internal affairs of Gambia; that the majority of Senegalese public opinion was against it; that it would lead to an aggravation of the already painful conditions of the people; that the Senegalese army should withdraw; and that the real role of the army should be to ensure the integrity of the nation.

The Senegalese invasion also has serious implications for the whole region. With the government acting as a kind of regional gendarme of imperialism no one can discount the possibility that the Senegalese government would act against those countries in the region desirous of pursuing socially progressive policies. Mauretania is particularly apprehensive since the Diouf government together with Morocco could apply enormous pressure on the Mauretanians to withhold support for the Polisario freedom fighters fighting for the independence of Western Sahara. Furthermore if certain military groupings — however limited —

are created in the region, the imperialists using Senegal as a cover could intervene to prop up discredited neo-colonialist regimes.

There is talk — coming from the Diouf government — of setting up a Senegambia. The uniting of the two countries under the present conditions would certainly not be in the interests of Gambia, since this would only strengthen the security of their corrupt comprador bourgeoisie and would be used by the Senegalese bourgeoisie to obtain additional cheap labour for exploitation and for investment.

The peoples of our continent should condemn the invasion, call for the withdrawal of Senegalese troops and intensify the struggle for the right of each people to choose their own way of development.

(After the above note was written, an official announcement by State House in Banjul last November stated that Senegal and Gambia had decided to form a confederation. The newly-formed state was to be headed by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf with Gambian President Sir Dawda Jawara as Vice-President. — Ed.)

In his introduction to the *Official British Olympic Association Reports of the 1980 Games in Moscow,* Sir Denis Follows, the chairman of the BOA, says the question of participation was never really an issue. He maintains: "It was not for the committee to be the keeper of any individual's conscience".

David Hunn, in an editorial, emphasises not so much the abuse that was inflicted on Sir Denis but the frustration of the British jounalists, many of whom, he claims, knew that their newspapers did not expect to receive copy that would "make the Reds look good".

He suggests that some reporters were so ashamed that when the papers arrived in Moscow, they could hardly bear to open them. "They didn't want to see the distortions that had been effected in the cause of presenting the facts the way their editors (presumably) thought the government would like to see them".

The Times, London, November 4, 1981

FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE AND LABOUR — A NEW STAGE IN OUR STRUGGLE

By Seimou Pathé Guèye,
Member of the Central Committee of the PIT Senegal

The founding Congress was held in Dakar, capital of Senegal, on August 8 and 9, 1981, of the Party of Independence and Labour (Parti de l'Independence et du Travail — PIT). The Congress was convened by the 18th plenary session of the PAI Senegal.* Its task was to achieve unity around the following objectives:

Firstly, to change the name of the Party in view of the recent constitutional reform, whose provisions, forbidding the use by two parties of the same name and the same information media, had been interpreted by our Central Committee as a confiscation of our name for the benefit of

---

*Party African de l'Independence. For the history of the PAI and the conflict between its true leaders and the renegade Mahmout Diop, see **The African Communist** No 66, p 77 and No 68, p 87.

the renegade Mahmout Diop. In exchanging the name of PAI for PIT, our Party wishes to remove any obstacle to its free and public development under the conditions now made possible by the recognition of all political parties in our country. It is a case of carrying on, under a new name, the whole historic heritage of the PAI Senegal and pursuing its revolutionary path for the benefit of the toiling masses of Senegal, for national independence, for socialism and for peace.

Secondly, on the basis set out above, to work out the directions in which the Party must go during the period from now until our next ordinary Congress in 1982. This meant that the Congress had to echo the burning anxieties of the working class and the popular masses about the intolerable rise in the cost of living, the wave of closures and dismissals in industry, the threats to our democratic and social gains and the policy of abandonment of the youth. The Congress had to appear clearly as an important step in our constant struggle for the deepening of democracy, the unity of patriotic forces and a real policy of change in our country.

Important resolutions were taken in these different areas. We may be sure that their implementation will give a new momentum to the entire democratic movement. The idea clearly emerged that to face up to the great tasks which await us, it is necessary to create *a strong and effective Communist Party,* ideologically sound, closely linked to the popular masses (in particular the workers and peasants), a party of initiative and struggle, capable of taking up all the causes of the labouring masses and reacting against all the injustices perpetrated by governments and employers. It was in this context that the following passage was included in the resolutions:

> "Congress demands that all members should mobilise and take appropriate initiatives to reinforce and extend the bases of our Party, to ensure its implantation in all enterprises, all organisations, all localities and villages and to propagate its ideas and programme among the masses. Congress demands that members should participate actively in the organisation of people's struggle around all the interests of the masses, eschew all sectarianism and seek on every occasion the widest possible united action. It calls upon them to give proof of revolutionary devotion and sacrifice."

Other problems connected with the strengthening of the Party were raised and the Congress took decisions which we consider wise and capable of improving the effectiveness of our work. The need for Marxist-Leninist education of members was dealt with, together with the need to reinforce democratic functioning of the Party on the basis of Leninist principles as "the condition of its cohesion, of the depth and richness of its political analysis, of the reinforcement of its links with the masses and of the effectiveness of its revolutionary work."

The Congress also directed its attention to the specific problems which neo-colonialism poses for particular sections of our society such as women, youth and intellectuals. Appropriate decisions were taken for the purpose of mobilising their revolutionary potential and integrating them fully in the struggle which our Party is conducting for national independence, democracy, social and cultural progress, and for peace.

Proletarian Internationalism

Another dimension of our Congress was the large part played in our deliberations by our internationalist task. Thus it was with total unanimity that our Congress, having heard the warm and fraternal greetings sent to us by the CPSU and other brother Parties, reaffirmed the pledge of the PIT's militants "to remain faithful to proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity, and to assume their full responsibilities in the common struggle of the international communist and workers' movement, of which the PIT is a part." This solemn pledge indicated our pride in belonging to the great communist family, to the great force for peace, generous and profoundly humanist, of which the truly socialist countries today furnish such a convincing example.

The struggle for peace represents a profound need for the people of the world. It is today threatened by "the militarist and aggressive manoeuvres of imperialism, allied to the Maoist doctrines of Peking, manoeuvres aimed at the liquidation of the gains of detente and at plunging the world back into the cold war and the arms race." It was for these reasons that our Congress saluted "the lofty spirit of responsibility which animates the leadership of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in their unswerving policy of peace", and supported all their initiatives in favour of detente and disarmament. After having supported the "appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the parliaments and peoples of the world" in favour of world peace and friendship between peoples, Congress condemned the "criminal silence of the Senegalese parliament in the face of this question, vital for all humanity regardless of social regime, philosophic or religious belief, or colour of skin."

The peoples of Africa cannot be mere spectators of the struggle for peace. Engaged as they are in the process of national and social liberation, they need peace to consolidate their gains and to make further advances. Indeed, as the general resolution of the Congress emphasised,

> "the concrete experience of the people's struggle has cut across the false ideological debate which China has tried to introduce into the international

> communist and workers' movement for the purpose of masking the reality of a retreat from Marxist-Leninist principles towards social chauvinism, hegemonism and military adventurism. The allegedly theoretical arguments of Maoism against the Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence are intended to provoke a confrontation between the USSR and USA, in the naive hope that China would derive some benefit for its Great Power ambitions. Experience, however, has proved that it is not war (as the Maoist theoreticians pretend), but on the contrary peaceful co-existence and 36 years without world war, which have enabled revolutionary movements to grow in strength and the peoples to make important advances towards liberation."

War has become too dangerous

Alongside the negative factors which cloud the international skies at the present time, the Congress emphasised important ways in which the world movement for revolution and peace is being reinforced and consolidated. The political, economic and military weight of the socialist camp is increasing and it is increasingly successful in solving the vital problems of humanity. The contradictions of imperialism are growing, confronted as it now is by an unprecedented crisis to which it can find no solution. The resort to war, which has been the chosen solution in the past, has now become too dangerous by reason of the great military strength of socialism and the growing wave of aspirations for peace sweeping through the citadels of militarism. Another positive factor is the acceleration of the national liberation struggle and the deepening of its anti-capitalist content.

In our own country, the national democratic movement is experiencing a revival in spite of the obstacles put in its way for two decades by the power of neo-colonialism. It has a growing influence among the masses and has already compelled the forces of neo-colonialism to make an important concession: the restoration of public liberties of which the legalisation of our Party is a striking result.

In spite of these important defeats, imperialism has not disarmed. It still possesses powerful resources which permit it to face the forces of progress with serious difficulties, as the situation in Africa clearly shows. With the bankruptcy of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, imperialism now places certain countries (such as our own) under the direct tutelage of its organs of financial intervention, the IMF and the World Bank. It establishes military outposts so as to integrate our countries with its strategic plans, under the false pretext of counteracting the "Soviet-Cuban threat". These become bases for intervention against the forces of progress, as witness the role played by Dakar in expeditions against Polisario, in the Shaba war and most recently in the crushing of a popular movement in Gambia.

Similar dispositions have been made by imperialism in the economic field. Mechanisms for the joint exploitation of the African people are being developed and regional structures created, motivated not by the principle of inter-African co-operation but by the desire to consolidate imperialist markets on the continent.

Southern Africa

Against this background, the situation in Southern Africa engaged the special attention of our Congress. We believe that Southern Africa is now, on our continent at least, the main strategic theatre of confrontation between imperialism and the forces of national and social liberation. We believe that the peace of the whole world, not only that of our continent, is threatened by the persistence in South Africa of the reactionary, outdated and inhuman apartheid regime, openly supported by imperialism, especially that of the USA. It is threatened also by the attempts of destabilisation of the Frontline States, in order to force them to cease their support of the freedom fighters in Namibia (SWAPO) and South Africa (ANC and SACP).

Faced by this situation, Congress denounced the attacks and interventions perpetrated by imperialism under various pretexts, in order to maintain reactionary regimes in power against the popular will, while destabilising progressive regimes (sometimes with the help of internal agents such as UNITA and FNLA in Angola). Congress reaffirmed the support of Senegalese communists for all those throughout the world who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid.

> "Congress resolves to give special attention to solidarity with the freedom fighters of Southern Africa, and to the popularisation of their struggle among the people of Senegal."

Taking the opportunity which arose from the fact that the second day of our Congress was also South African Women's Day, Congress adopted a special resolution of support for the women of South Africa. This resolution was accompanied by a telegram of support sent to a number of international organisations worldwide. It became very clear that the reinforcement and deepening of our relations (already close and fraternal) with the South African Communist Party will help us to accomplish the great tasks of solidarity which emerged from our Congress.

We can conclude that our Congress has clearly revealed a line of continuity in our national and international policies. In re-establishing unchanged the line of the Party, it furnished proof of the political cohesion and ideological unity which have saved our Party so many disasters in the past. It is for these reasons, and because of the way in which its ideas are finding an echo far beyond the ranks of the Party, that we can go forward with confidence to tackle the great work that awaits us.

(Translated from the French by *The African Communist)*

IN BRIEF

John Wash Pam, Vice-President of the Nigerian Senate and head of the Nigerian delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Havana last September, told (the Cuban Communist Party paper) *Granma* he was proud that Cuba was helping to preserve Angola's independence.

He condemned the South African attack on the Angolan people and said he was very surprised at seeing how that country, contrary to the wishes of most world public opinion, managed to emerge unpunished after committing such an act. He added that Nigeria would not relent in its struggle to secure "total independence for the African continent and the rest of the world".

Referring to the ethnic and cultural roots that link Cubans and Africans, the head of the Nigerian delegation remarked that during his stay in Havana he had come to realise fully the significance that Cubans attach to an expression that alludes to the fact that every Cuban has a bit of Africa in him. He asserted that the cultural affinity of our two peoples had moved him.

Granma, English edition, October 4, 1981

BOOK REVIEWS

CORNFORTH'S LAST BOOK — A DISTORTION OF MARXISM

Communism and Philosophy by Maurice Cornforth, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1980. Price £8.95)

Maurice Cornforth was well-known to many communists in Africa and Asia. His earlier books, especially the three introductory volumes on Dialectical Materialism, enabled many communists to arrive at a better understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism. The book under review was intended to be one in a series of books covering a vast range of theoretical problems. However, Cornforth died soon after this book was published.

Of this book Cornforth says: "I make so bold as to attempt a revision of Marxism in which, from start to finish, Marxism, including Marxist philosophy, is 'wholly and purely' an exercise in genuine empirical theory. I shall suggest that what Marx and Engels were actually doing was not the same as what they sometimes thought they were doing." (p 139).

But this boldness fails to further enrich and develop the science of Marxism-Leninism. Indeed it makes a mockery and at times a caricature of the classics of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is in many respects a superficial book which attempts to give a semblance of respectability to a wide variety of revisionist deviations with which the international communist movement has had to contend since the time of Marx and Engels. The book also contains distortions and half-truths about the Soviet Union and the socialist community which can only gladden the hearts of our class enemies.

Whilst accepting *historical* materialism, the author claims that *dialectical* materialism is not only irrelevant, but also metaphysical. Thus the philosophical concept of the "universe" is an illusion and we have to dissociate ourselves from the "didactic" analysis of Marx and Lenin which shows that history is "governed by universal laws". For this didactic method he blames primarily Lenin. Here as elsewhere in the book the class approach to the study and analysis of social phenomena is absent, and at times Cornforth's methodology is determined by his subjective aspirations to prove his point. Marxists maintain that it is only dialectical materialism which gives us the possibility to comprehend the complex and diverse processes unfolding in capitalist and socialist countries, to single out the uniformities and tendencies of development and to analyse the process of replacing or renewing all forms of social life. Moreover materialist dialectics is an instrument which enriches practice, helps us to understand better the major problems facing us nationally, regionally and internationally, and thereby be better equipped to solve the most vital problems of our day. Even Cornforth cannot escape from the "laws of history" and he accepts that socialism is "a necessity, in the practical sense, for the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution" (p 271). But if there are no "laws of history" how can anything be a "necessity", and if there is a practical necessity, why not necessity at the basic level of theory? Furthermore, Cornforth himself agrees that we have to arrive at an understanding of "the nature of the universe", thus in fact admitting that the concept of the universe is not an illusion. It is clear that in attempting to put Marx and Engels on their feet he has confused the way in which a theory is derived and the way in which it is presented.

Flowing from his strictures on dialectical materialism Cornforth comes to the conclusion that not only does the world communist movement labour under the "illusion of class and party in the proletarian revolution", but that this is "an ideological false consciousness of both class and party which adds up in practical politics to dangerous delusion" (p 158). He claims "there is no such thing as the 'working class', but only the working class of different nations — and the same goes for any other class." (p 229). Of course the working class in any country is a part of that nation, but it is distinguished from other classes by its role and function in the process of production. It is the class which creates the wealth of any capitalist society and has far more in common with the working class of other nations than with its own exploiting bourgeois class. Furthermore we cannot dispense with the general socio-political categories, such as the international working class, international monopolies, imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonialism. Obviously each working class and party fights for socialism within its own country but it is closely tied to its international partners by a great number of connections. Otherwise the very idea of international solidarity, proletarian internationalism, would become redundant.

For Cornforth it is not the working class which will lead the socialist revolution but a combination of what he calls "the union of co-operative and universal labour". He comes to this abstract conclusion because he fails to examine in depth the nature of the working class, its relationship to the means of production, to society as a whole and objectively its role as the "grave-digger of capitalism". Logically therefore Cornforth argues there is no need for a vanguard of the working class. Having abolished this need Cornforth does not supply any adequate alternatives. We could well ask him: "How is the working class or a combination of classes to come to power? Who is to organise the working class and all those forces opposed to monopoly capital? Why should there be a need for the existence of the Communist Party of Great Britain?"

To be sure, if the leading role of the Party is an illusion, the very idea of conducting a sustained, disciplined, well-organised struggle for the rights of the working people also becomes an illusion or false consciousness.

Having dismissed the leading role of the working class and its Party, Cornforth has to rely on "necessity" — which as shown earlier he expunged from Marxism — to open the doors to socialism. This leads him to the assertion that socialism is "a necessity which will force recognition in the end even in the face of the most convinced supporters of the economics of private enterprise and of the most determined to preserve, at whatever cost, their private profit at the expense of the nation as a whole." (p 271).

This is nothing more than a restatement of the views of the right wing of the British Labour Party, and those who have set up the Social Democratic Party. Thus in Cornforth the revolutionary content of Marxism-Leninism is diluted. He views the revolutionary struggle as an uninterrupted gradual process and ignores the important question of a revolutionary leap. Cornforth also conveniently ignores the fact that the ruling class — even in "democratic Britain" — will put up all kinds of resistance to retain its wealth, power and control. He disarms the revolutionary forces long before the decisive battle has taken place.

Cornforth's revisionist approach is also reflected in his hostile assessments of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. He denigrates the immense and invaluable contribution made by the Soviet Union and the Communist Pary of the Soviet Union to the entire world revolutionary process when he writes:

> "The assistance and support which the Soviet Union renders to other socialist states, to national liberation movements against imperialism, and to the struggle for socialism generally, is, in fact, fraught with sources of conflict. These are not simple sources of conflict with imperialism and with anti-socialist (feudal or capitalist) elements within a country. They are sources of conflict associated with fears of loss of independence through foreign domination by a more powerful socialist state". (p 208).

So it is not world imperialism which poses a threat to the socialist countries and the political and economic independence of other countries but the Soviet Union! Having enumerated all the weaknesses, mistakes, shortcomings and distortions which in his view characterise the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, he writes:

> "We are in fact just as near to communism in many respects here in bourgeois England, with some of the social services that have been available to us under capitalism." (p 213).

One wonders whether Cornforth lived in England or in cloud cuckoo-land. Already in 1979 there was — and it continues — a vicious attack upon the social services in England. Health, education, housing expenditures have been cut back. As in the United States of America, the ruling class is taking from the poor and giving to the rich. It is only the most blinkered or hostile anti-communist who can deny that in the sphere of social services the Soviet Union is far ahead of any capitalist country.

Naturally, since in Cornforth's eyes the socialist countries have failed:

> "It seems quite likely, as Trotsky used to insist, that such a consummation is to be expected only in revolutionary developments in advanced industrial democracies, supposing they do succeed in seizing the initiative and realising such a development." (p 147).

Thus the whole world outside the advanced capitalist countries can be relegated to the background. The millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America should wait because, according to Cornforth, we are unable to build socialism in our countries. This fallacious argument is also applied to the further development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. According to the author, the developing countries import the theory from the developed ones and this process will continue (p 256). Cornforth ignores or is completely unaware of the vast contribution made to the development of the science of Marxism-Leninism and of revolutionary struggle by the Communist Parties and national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In any case the communist parties of these continents are not going to sit around and wait for some big brother to elaborate the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. They are struggling and will continue to struggle for socialism and in that process contribute to the rich storehouse of experience of the world communist movement.

Without supplying any evidence, Cornforth accuses the Soviet Union of "chauvinist nationalism" and "hegemony" over the other socialist countries. He claims that a danger of war stems from "rivalries of socialist countries" and blames the Soviet Union for the reactionary foreign policy of China. He describes China's bloody invasion of Vietnam merely as an "armed conflict" between the two countries.

Nowhere in the book is there any attempt to study and analyse the real dangers posed to world peace and the political and economic independence of the developing countries by imperialism and monopoly capital. In fact one gets the impression that if only the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community did not exist everything would be fine. The people – not the working class and its allies – in the advanced capitalist countries would by some miraculous process arrive at socialism, and all would be well.

Throughout this book one wonders whatever happened to Cornforth's claim that he will be wholly and purely empirical. One can only say that Cornforth, moving away from a class approach and eschewing Marxist-Leninist socio-political categories so that class, revolution, social change, democracy etc., all become neutral terms, ends up in a thoroughly revisionist, anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-working class position. This book distorts the science of Marxism-Leninism and the role, place and function of the working class and its vanguard party in the revolutionary process.

A. Azad

STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION

Whirlwind Before the Storm: The Origins and Development of the Uprising in Soweto and the Rest of South Africa from June to December 1976. by Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill. International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London 1980. Price £4.

The authors of *Whirlwind Before the Storm* successfully achieve the aim of their work — to provide an analytical record of the bloody uprising in Soweto of June 1976 so that "when memory would blur all into one continuous 'disturbance' there would be available a more precise narrative, which could not hope to be complete, but would tell the story". (p 1)

The book provides a reliable account of 'what actually happened', uncovering the motive forces of the uprising, its activities and perspectives, as far as possible allowing the participants to speak for themselves. Most important the book gives a picture of the political and social context of the uprising, describing the hardship and sufferings of urban Africans, and providing the reader with the understanding that the uprising was just an integral part of the long and hard struggle of the people of South Africa against white domination.

The actual events of 'Soweto' — 16th June 1976 — which were flashed across the front pages of the world's newspapers, are well known to all of us. But this in no way detracts from the usefulness of this book. Because of its in-depth research and analysis the book is essential reading for an understanding of many aspects of the current crisis facing the apartheid regime. Unlike many of the instant books which appeared soon after the Soweto events, this book, correctly, does not attempt to prescribe to the people of South Africa and their liberation movement how best to overthrow apartheid and what ideology to adopt in doing so.

Whirlwind Before the Storm sets for itself the task of discovering who these black youths were who took to the streets in their tens of thousands in numerous bloody clashes with the police. What was their consciousness? How were they organised throughout the country? What were their attitudes to their parents and the community? What were the attitudes of the students to the regime and to the national liberation movement? What were their tactics and methods of struggle, how did these change and what did they achieve?

The book describes how the consciousness of youth and students rapidly developed in the course of events. Initially their focus of struggle was on the education issue. But soon students began to realise that their struggle against Bantu Education was part of the broader struggle to overthrow apartheid. In this struggle the students could not act alone, but as part of the oppressed Black community and the working class, and led by the national liberation movement. As one student put it — "Afrikaans was not the real issue. It provided a spark that fell on top of the powder keg that was building up amongst the African people. The real issues are racism, oppression, exploitation and so on". (Page 61).

In reading this book one comes to understand how it was the fighting generation of 1976 which produced the Mahlangus, the James Manges, the Thandi Modises, and cadres of the calibre of those 13 brutally murdered in Matola, Mozambique. Thousands of the stone-throwing, placard-carrying youth of 1976 have swelled the ranks of our liberation movement and our fighting people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and are today part of the heightened struggle against racist minority rule. The 'whirlwinds' as Vorster characterised the uprising of June 1976, are over, and the 'storm', which he correctly predicted, is now sweeping across the country.

S.B.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation. Ed. Amon J. Nsekela (Rex Collings, London. £14)

The editor is the Tanzanian High Commissioner in London and served as Secretary General to the Lusaka Conference and chairman of the Steering Committee at the Arusha Conference. The book is pricipally devoted to the publication of eight papers prepared for the Arusha Conference, covering various aspects of the economic problems facing the ten nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. (Though the number of independent governments represented in the conference is nine — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe — the people of Namibia are represented through SWAPO and all the plans of the conference are based on the assumption that Namibia comes within its terms of reference).

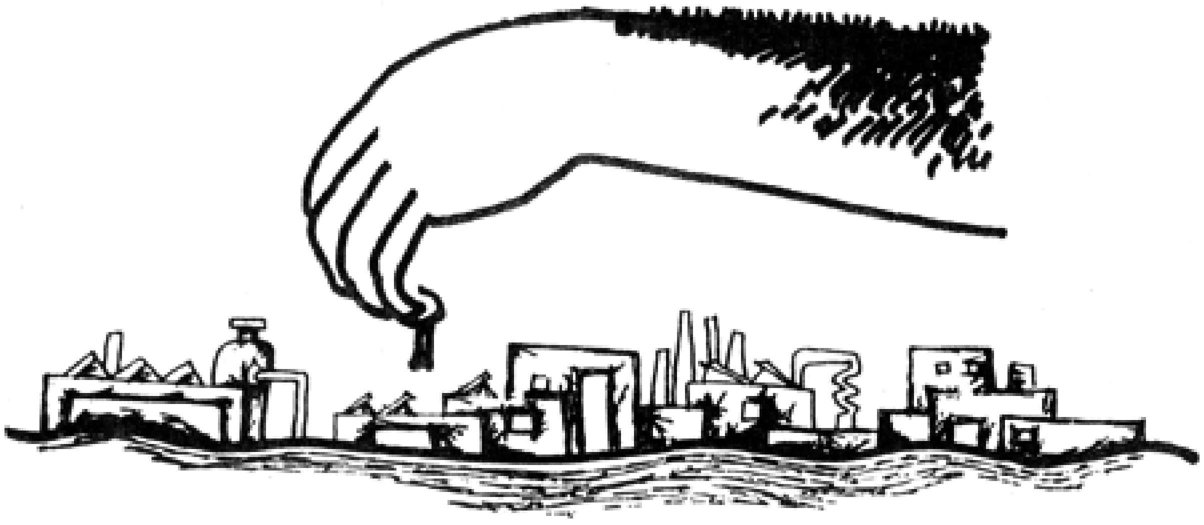
The late President Sir Seretse Khama supplies an introduction, written just before the Maputo meeting of SADCC in November 1980. He brings out the basic political motivation of SADCC very clearly, making the crucial point that co-operation between the states of Southern Africa began as co-operation in the liberation struggle.

> "The strength and effectiveness of co-ordinated action in the political liberation struggle encourages us to believe that a similar dynamic of co-ordination is attainable on the economic front."

The eight conference papers comprise two general surveys of the economy of the region, highlighting the problem of dominance by the Republic of South Africa, and six sectoral surveys on Transport, Financial Institutions, Agriculture, Energy and Minerals, Employment and Trade Patterns. These are essential reading for any serious student of the recent history of the region, containing as they do much of the thinking behind the establishment of the Southern African Transport and Communications Commissions and other SADCC decisions. The student will not, however, find any very deep political analysis here. The papers were written for nine governments of different political complexions and their authors were clearly under the necessity of avoiding offence to any of the governments. The different social and political directions which development can take within the various states are only hinted at and no attempt is made to choose betwen them.

The book ends with thirty pages of statistical data on the regional economy. Given the great difficulty of finding economic data on Southern Africa in readily accessible form, these tables alone would suffice to justify the publication.

P.M.



THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa.

Published by the Foundation for Education with Production (F.E.P.) P.O. Box 20906, Gaborone, Botswana. 126 pages. £3 Europe, R3.50 Southern Africa.

The Foundation for Education with Production was set up at the beginning of 1981 as an 'international, non-governmental organisation with the aim of developing and propagating new types of education'. Although it is concerned mainly with the Third World it believes that education in the industrialised countries is in urgent need of renewal and change. The Foundation wishes to work towards a 'mass based pedagogy, which will raise the cultural level of the whole population and give them the tools to understand and control the political, economic and social forces which determine their lives' and it believes that this can be done only through the linking of learning with productive work.

This is its first publication and is a report on a seminar held in Lusaka in October 1980, organised and funded by the Ministry of Education of Zambia, the main liberation movements in Southern Arica ANC(SA) SWAPO, ZANU(PF) and ZAPU(PF) and the Dag Hammerskjold Foundation of Sweden. Representatives from Cuba, Guinea Bissau and the P.L.O. also attended the seminar which was the third in a series — the previous two having been held in Tanzania and Mozambique. The seminar aimed to give liberation movements an opportunity to exchange views and experiences on education as part of the struggle for liberation.

The Lusaka Seminar covered sessions on education policy and structural organisation of educational affairs; the supply, training and orientation of teachers; curricula and syllabi; organisation and relevance of production in education; manpower survey, planning and development; the role of culture in the process of liberation; adult education; radio broadcasting and the problems of transition in the education field. The papers give some detailed information relating specifically to the experiences of each participant organisation and it is important to study them as they reflect the views and experiences of governments and liberation movements with differing histories of struggle. The papers show how the education policies and practices arose from the needs of each particular form of struggle. Out of these differing experiences there emerged basic common policies.

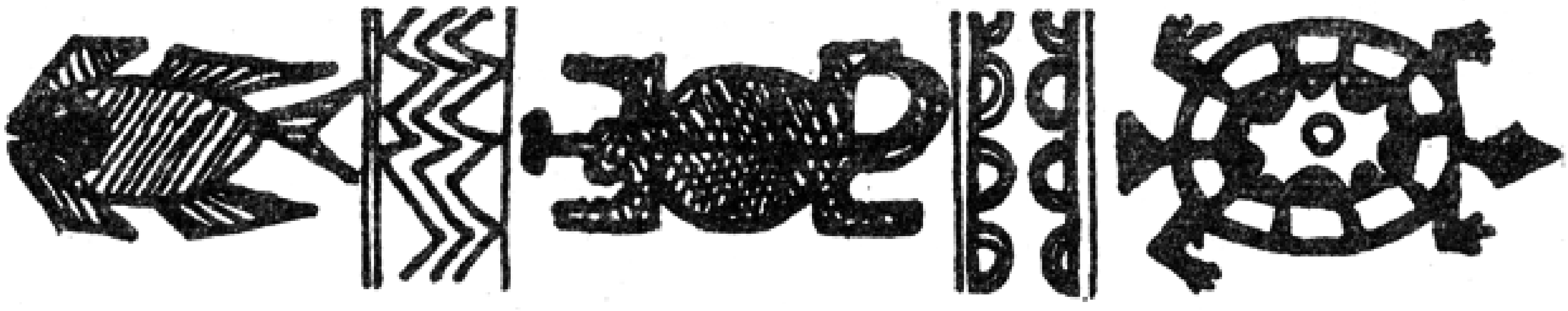
The liberation movements and independent governments have moved away from policies which merely seek to get rid of racist and colonial education. They now project a basic change in the whole concept of the type of education needed, and its uses. They all incorporate a belief in education which will be non-elitist, non-authoritarian and where there will be no artificial divisions between manual and mental work, and an education system which will produce a new kind of person.

The report includes an article by Patrick van Rensburg, the Director of the Foundation for Education with Production. He stresses the need of involvement with production — the combination of education and production is regarded as the cornerstone of education for social transformation, vital for the formation of revolutionary, socialist attitudes and a means of acquiring discipline, reliability and responsibility . It establishes the necessary link between theory and practice.

Van Rensburg regards the 1978 Maputo Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa as being of particular significance because it acknowledged that education is not only part of the liberation struggle, but central to it. His article develops this belief that education is one of the battlefields in the struggle and for the society that will result from it.

Apart from its valuable theoretical contribution there is much in the report about day to day issues and practice that will be of relevance to all those concerned with education. But the report is of value not only to those directly involved in institutionalised education, for its clear message is that education is an integral part of the liberation struggle.

F.K.



UNIQUE HISTORY OF A UNIQUE PARTY

South African Communists Speak — Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party 1915-1980.

Inkululeko Publications 1981. pp.469 +xix + Index. Price £10.

"Some talk of Alexander, and some of Hercules". So began the old song about the world's great heroes. But they, and all like them, pale into shadows compared with the heroism of a party which — told in documentary form by this book — against the most dreadful odds, has for sixty years proved itself the brains and conscience of a working class still either steeped in racial prejudice (the white minority) or prevented by a brutal tyranny from gaining elementary human rights and political experience (the black majority). It is a party which, in practice if not in general expressed recognition, has in over half a century of struggle won its place as the real national leader of its working class in battle as well as in agitation: a party which has steadily overcome over the years the false moves and errors inevitable in such conditions, working out in daily practice the application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the exceptionally complex conditions of its country. Such is the South African Communist Party, and such are the thoughts which arise from reading the documents of its history.

The story begins with the International Socialist League, founded in 1915 by a group of members of the South African Labour Party who, at its conference in August that year, found themselves in a respectable minority of 30 to 82 against a resolution committing the SALP to support of the imperialist war, and walked out. Like other Socialists throughout the world who remained true to the principles of working-class internationalism (and to the decisions of the Basle Congress of the International in 1912) they proceeded in September 1915 to organise, first as the "International League within the Party", and then, being expelled from the Labour Party, as the "International Socialist League (S.A.)". It had already started its own paper *The International*, fearlessly proclaiming its principles amid the hyena howling of the jingo "patriots" who were calling the working class on both sides to murder each other in defence of the interests of "their" capitalists. Without delay it sent a message signed by its secretary, David Ivon Jones, to the International Socialist Bureau declaring its solidarity with the internationalist minorities in other countries, together with the Russian Social-Democrats and the Italian Socialist Party.

Its history, as reflected in the first batch of documents reproduced here (pp.5-65), vividly recalls the experiences of all such Socialist organisations in those years — denunciation during the war by the "Socialist" jingoes who were making common cause with the capitalist class in wartime, denial of halls and other facilities, prosecution for publishing leaflets supporting the Bolsheviks from 1917 onwards, attacks on its meetings by police and organised hooligans when it decided, in January 1920, to join the Communist International. But in addition the League stood out in the history of South African labour as the first organisation to declare specifically for the lifting of Africans to full political and industrial equality with the whites (January 1916) and to issue a Socialist propaganda leaflet to African workers in their own languages (Zulu and Sesutu) in February 1918. When, in July-August, 1921, it joined with a number of other groups to establish the Communist Party of South Africa, it was also the first in calling all South African workers, whether organised or unorganised, whether white or black, to join.

I should say at this point that the extensive analysis of the situation in South Africa — national, social, political and economic — which was presented to the E.C. of the Communist International by D. Ivon Jones on March 29, 1921, was also the first of its kind ever drawn up on a colonial situation in the international working class movement.

The Black Republic

The second section of the book (pp.67-133) is rightly headed "Towards the Black Republic", because it deals, in more than forty documents written between 1922 and 1937, with the life-or-death problem of the Communist Party in those years. This was: how to "fight for equal rights for all workers irrespective of race", while not standing aside from bitter class struggles of the white workers, who not only had a monopoly of those rights at the time, but flagrantly denied them to the black workers, at a time when "African working class organisation was practically non-existent". This dilemma faced the Party almost immediately in the great struggle of the white working class in 1922 — against a fierce offensive of the Chamber of Mines, backed by the government of General Smuts (later an associate of Winston Churchill in the second world war) — which became known as the "Rand Revolt". Although the white miners were fighting not only against a wage cut but also for maintenance of the colour bar in their industry, the Communists rightly decided to take part in the fight against the capitalist class, doing their utmost to develop a spirit of inter-racial solidarity, leading to a "crusade against capitalism" instead of a war of races. Hundreds were killed and thousands wounded by Smuts' armed forces, and after the strike three of its leaders were hanged.

Nevertheless, this was a temporary victory for the murderous forces of capitalist greed: in their very defeat the Communists learned the way forward. In November 1923 their Young Communist League resolved that "its main task is the organisation of the native youth". By April 1924 the Party had promoted the holding of the first ever "United Non-European Congress", covering African, Indian and Coloured organisations. That year also it helped to defeat the Smuts government in the general election; and after its third Congress (December 1924) it began a steady policy of Africanisation — recruiting black members to the Party, taking part in existing African organisations started or led by non-Communists, and itself founding a number of African trade unions. In this new phase, the Communists had new obstacles to meet — opportunists and middle-class racialists among black politicians as well. Nevertheless, by 1928, out of its 1750 members, 1600 were Africans. Now, after far-reaching discussions with representatives of many Communist Parties at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, in the summer of 1928, the Party adopted a precise definition of its aims: "A South African Native Republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government, with full protection and equal rights for all national minorities".

Nevertheless, the difficulties were not over, as a number of documents show. There followed a period of left sectarian errors over several years, initiated by the then leadership of the Communist International in 1930 — errors from which many other parties suffered — reducing the strength of the Party, and in the course of which some of its founder members were expelled. Only at the end of 1938 could a new start be made, with the readmission of the expelled members and with a new general secretary, Moses Kotane, who held that post until his death in May 1978.

The Effect of The War

Section 3 (pp.136-215) is headed with a sufficiently expressive title: "From War to Suppression". It begins with the story of the debates — by no means confined to South Africa — over the question with which Communists were faced with the outbreak of the second world war: "What Kind of a War is This?" After some weeks of hesitation, they found the answer: "It is a war to retain oppression. Great Britain wants to continue oppressing and exploiting the colonial peoples under her, and is fighting to defend her rights of exploitation and oppression from Germany, which wishes to seize some of her colonies. We declare that this is an unjust war. . . Africans should not give money to support the war. Instead they must show that they will not support the war in any way" (p.137). The succeeding documents are of an astonishingly clear and enlightening character, such as a pamphlet by an African Communist, Alpheus Maliba, on "The Condition of the Venda People" (December 1939), the detailed analysis by the Political Bureau on "The War Now" (August 1940) — and, equally instructive, the tale of repression by the Smuts government, while leaning over backwards to avoid confrontation with pro-Nazi and fascist groups.

The character of the war was completely changed by the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. As elsewhere, the strength of the Party increased. By 1943 its membership had grown four-fold, the circulation of its papers "reached record levels", trade unions and African national movements grew under Communist leadership, white Communists were elected to local councils and African Communists won hundreds of thousands of votes in elections to the Native Representative Councils. In 1948 the first Communist M.P., Sam Kahn, was elected. This increased strength appears in the self-confidence which breathes in all the post-war papers printed in this section. The culmination seems to be reached in document 91 — "Nationalism and the Class Struggle", a report presented to a National Conference of the Communist Party in January, 1950 (pp. 200-211). At this time, despite difficulties in organisation caused by "tremendous pressure from reaction", African membership in some districts was "increasing by leaps and bounds", and the prestige of the Party generally had grown. it was in response to this process that the government pushed through a "Suppression of Communism Act" (June 1950), and the Party was dissolved.

Unique Contribution

Section 4 of the book — "Underground Resistance and Armed Struggle" — is by far the longest (pp.217-469). This is as it should be, for it brings us up to acute problems of the present day, national in South Africa, international in the world-wide struggle against imperialist aggression and the nuclear threat. Characteristically, the final document is a statement issued by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party (as it is now called) in January 1980, declaring its full solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its leading People's Democratic Party, and its support for the Soviet Union's action in going to the help of Afghanistan against the action of the USA and China in "threatening, and indeed directly or indirectly, or through surrogates, actually waging war" against the Afghan Republic.

Space prevents any attempt to give even the kind of bare survey of the documents in this section which has been made earlier. I will only draw attention to a series of further deep Marxist analyses of the South African situation which are truly educative, not only for European readers who know little or nothing about that remote half-continent, but also for Africans themselves, black or white, even if they are very far from Marxism. Examples are the statement by Moses Kotane just before his arrest (June 1952): his statement, "South Africa's Way Forward" (May 1954): the article "How Foreign is Communism?" in *The African Communist* (April 1960): the up-dated programme of the Communist Party, "The Road to South African Freedom" (1962): their letter to the Communist Party of China (February 1964): Bram Fischer's speech in court (March 1966): the statement on ten years of armed activity by Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) at the end of 1971, and much else.

It is a remarkable book, certainly unique in Africa and probably in more than one continent. As Yusuf Dadoo, National Chairman of the South African Communist Party, says in his preface, the record "will justify the confidence of the South African working class and inspire greater efforts from all freedom fighters".

Andrew Rothstein

US LABOUR HISTORY IN ONE LIFESPAN

Working Class Giant: The Life of William Z. Foster by Arthur Zipser. Published by International Publishers.

First comes the anger, then, tempered by the fire of class battles, emerge the real heroes of our age. Not the Oppenheimers, the Bothas or the Koornhofs, but the ordinary people who lead the workers and the oppressed into battle. Such a man was US Communist Party leader William Z. Foster.

He left school when he was ten, at fourteen he was assaulted by a policeman during a peaceful procession of strikers, and by the age of nineteen he had become a confirmed socialist.

When he died in 1961 at the age of eighty, he had lived a life which embodied the history of the strugle of the working class of his country. We are encouraged to believe in free enterprise, in individual freedom and the so-called democratic process, but reading the real history of the US reveals a completely different picture.

Pickets killed in cold blood, rapacious bosses, sweated labour, the police, the army and the law courts assisting the bosses in their exploitation of the workers — these pictures flash through the pages of W.Z. Foster's life.

Foster worked in a lead factory. Of a man working in this 'death house' it was said that if he saved his money diligently he could buy himself a coffin by the time the lead poisoning finished him.

While trade unionists were organising canning workers, one employer shouted, "Yes! Tell your union friends that organised labour will never get anything from this company that it hasn't the power to take."

In the steel industry, half the labour force worked from 72 to 78 hours weekly, based on a 12-hour day. To get a day off, many workers had to work a 24-hour shift every other week.

On August 26, 1919 during a strike of miners at West Natrona, a mine official and twelve drunken deputies attacked the picket line with guns and clubs. As one on the picket line, Ms Sellins, tried to get some children out of the way she was clubbed to the ground by the official. Then four lethal shots were fired into the prostrate woman. As her body was dragged to a truck, a deputy crushed her skull with a cudgel.

Through this ever present terror the communists stood firm, one of the greatest of them W.Z. Foster, his spirit undaunted and his mind clear and sharp. In 1981 we read of the arrest of air traffic controllers in America, of Reagan's support for fascism and racism throughout the world, and of the renewed attacks on the American working class. Capital is still a bloated louse, feeding onthe blood of the workers. Little appears to have changed.

This is true in part, but there have been changes. The Communist Party of the USA has changed from a few people with a mission to a high command, clear, disciplined and tempered by struggle. 1981 is not the 1861 when Foster was born. His life and his work have not been in vain. It has given the workers of the US the tools with which to dismantle capitalism and build socialism. No easy task, but the new young communists who follow in Foster's path, together with their comrades in the socialist countries, in South Africa, in Latin America and Asia can do it.

P.R.

APARTHEID BY MURDER

South Africa's Record of International Terrorism, by Tony Gifford. Obtainable from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1. Price 40p.

This is a joint publication by the Campaign to Stop the War Against Angola and Mozambique (SWAM) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in co-operation with the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. Lord Gifford, a British barrister, is co-chairman of SWAM and a sponsor of Southern Africa — The Imprisoned Society (SATIS).

This illustrated 16-page pamphlet is a devastating exposure of the criminal methods of assassination, kidnap and terrorism employed by the South African apartheid regime to pick off some of the leading members of the liberation movement during the last 20 years. It opens with the kidnapping of Anderson Ganyile in Lesotho at the time of the Transkei uprisings in 1961 and ends with the Matola massacre in Mozambique and the murder of Joe Gqabi in Salisbury in 1981. Each case is accurately recorded and backed up by references. It is a compact history of South Africa's international lawlessness.

Lord Gifford concludes: "The scale of the atrocities perpetrated by the South African forces and their clandestine agents has increased year by year". He points out that the South African regime has been greatly encouraged in its escalation of aggression by the United States and other Western powers, and says the maximum of activity is required from the international community to expose and denounce the crimes of the apartheid regime and to remove from them every form of protection and support.

N.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE POLISH CRISIS

by Klaus Maphepha, Maputo

The Polish crisis has become something of immediate concern to both friend and foe of the Polish people. Whilst the Socialist Community of States and all peoples who love progress and well-being of humanity are giving all possible aid and advice to Poland and the Polish United Worker's Party, imperialism and its obsequious parrots have turned their propaganda into a gibber of libellous exaggerations and calumny in an attempt to turn what is already bad into worse.

The objective of the imperialists is well-known: to try to disprove the validity of the progresive role of Socialism in history — to attempt to prove that Socialism is a dead horse, it can't take anybody anywhere.

The speech by Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPSA, published in *The African Communist* No 85 Second Quarter 1981, analyses the tripartite sources of the present crisis as: 1. The pre-socialist legacy the PUWP had to start working upon or away from; 2. all forms of imperialist machinations and subversion against Socialism; and lastly 3. miscalculations, liberalism and laxness on the part of the PUWP.

As Lenin admonished, it is difficult for the working calss to take power but is is more difficult to maintain and defend that power. These unique features of the Polish situation make this task even more complicated. One has in mind here the extent to which the position and status of the Polish Catholic Church negatively affect the whole gamut of the socio-economic process in Poland. Gus Hall correctly said:

> "In Poland, the Catholic Church remains not only a religious, but also an ideological force. Its ideological influence will not diminish without a conscious struggle. . ."

Church-State Relations

Before communists find themselves accused of being defiant bohemian atheists and heathens it must be made clear that socialist countries are not unscrupulous obstreperous liquidators of religion. In all socialist countries the 'private affair between God and the individual' is accommodated, protected and defended. Free worshipping is guaranteed. Many people in the West never seriously believed that in the USSR there were kurans, mosques and synagogues until Mohammed Ali visited this first socialist state and came back holding the imperialist Big Lie to disgraceful ridicule. Although Ali himself later on became Carter's foolishly enthusiastic emissary to Africa and met with a cold African go by, he can't erase from his mind what he saw in the USSR nor can he swallow the truth he told the American people.

But definitely, Socialism and the Church must not be seen as two ribbon-haired girls frolicking hand-in-hand to Communism. Lenin has written:

> "Religion must be declared a private affair. In these words socialists usually express their attitude towards religion. But the meaning of these words should be accurately defined to prevent any misunderstanding. We demand that religion be held a private affair so far as the state is concerned. . . Religion must be of no concern to the state, and religious societies must have no connection with government authority. Everyone must be absolutely free to profess any religion he pleases, or no religion whatever, i.e. to be an atheist, which every socialist is as a rule. Discrimination among citizens on account of their religious convictions is wholly intolerable. Even the bare mention of a citizen's religion in official documents should unquestionably be eliminated. . ."
> (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol. 10, P. 84)

Poland had from time to time to fight against foreign domination and foreign aggression long before socialism was built there. Like all struggles, people's resistance had to be identified with an organizational body or individual around which the nation could rally. With the pre-war struggles in Poland the Catholic Church assumed this duty until Poland became a coherent entity which she is today. So the Catholic Church became identified with the struggle for freedom of the Polish people.

But the progressiveness of the Catholic Church was relative and transient. The Church could not adjust to the socialist transformation of society because its philosophy was not founded on the class reality of society.

This explains the unfortunate mental inertia of belief which the communists in Poland had to inherit and, through political education, try to wean the society from. Bearing in mind the poverty of the people in semi-feudal pre-war Poland, one recalls that Lenin said this of religion:

> "Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth and take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. . . Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man."
> (Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 10 p. 83.)

The fact that Pope John Paul 2nd comes out of Poland also offers the Polish Catholic Church a prestigious international status. It gives the Polish Catholic clergy confidence to assert their doctrines more uncompromisingly and stretch their demands beyond the accepted framework of state-church relations. Church buildings are no more just temples but have become organized industries where some anti-socialist, anti-Soviet ill-feelings are systematically worked up.

Imperialist media did not fail to catch up with this and blew it up in all cacophonous propaganda pitches. Let us remind ourselves of the American cartoonist who, after reading the news that the next pope was to come from a socialist state, furnished his cartoon with a caption:
"Have we infiltrated the Kremlin or
has the Kremlin infiltrated us?"
This hardly reflects the spirit of detente and peaceful coexistence!

The Pope on his part has chosen to be polysemantic in his sermons, unleashing scathing attacks on socialist countries for 'persecuting believers' and against those who are 'ungodly' by taking up arms to fight for their national independence.

The Catholic Church and Solidarity Trade Union

The Solidarity trade union itself is not just a 'mouthpiece and shield' of working class interest but is working very much in collusion with the Catholic Church.

It is worth recalling how when Lec Walesa opened the first Solidarity office in Warsaw, he ascended the steps leading to the door of the office with a portable model of a crucifix. It was like opening the trade union office-door with a crucifix key. Walesa himself called this 'symbolic'. Definitely it was symbolic to us in the sense of being an omen of things to come. As a sequel to this, one of the first Solidarity demands was for a Sunday 'free from all forms of work", so that all workers should have an uninterrupted day for worshipping. The PUWP is not out to disrupt religious practices, but such a demand is incoherent and irrational, not only for Poland but also for USA, Sweden and even for South Africa. It is simply impossible for any developed economy to come to a halt for 24 hours as many essential services and industries have to continue without interruption.

On top of that, to put a squeeze on the Polish economy, Solidarity demanded a five-day working week, all of a sudden. In a socialist society such steps should be made with a sober evaluation of the condition of the economy. You can't put such ultimatum demands against your own economic set-up.

> "Constant, deliberately maintained proportion would indeed signify the existence of planning."
> (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 3, p. 617)

Proportionate distribution of material and manpower resources between economic sectors with due consideration of the social division of labour should be one of the main objectives of economic planning. Most fundamental is the ratio of development of industry in relation to agriculture. This extends to the proportions between branches of industrial and agricultural production.

It is a hard fact that some 70 per cent of the farms in Poland are still privately operated. It is also a hard fact that the main inhibition to agricultural socialist reorganization is the strong grip of the Catholic Church on the rural population. The Roman Catholic Church has always been one of the biggest latifundists, wherever it has got heavy influence, since the time of the Roman Empire. A sizeable number of the rural population in Poland still, in belief and deed, hold their plots of land in proxy for the Church. So besides this being a drag on both agriculture and socialist personality, it is also a drag on other sectors of the economy, mainly industry.

There should be close co-ordination between industrial and primary production. There should be co-ordination between Department 1 (production of the means of production) and Department 2 (production of consumer goods). A good turn-out in Department 2 depends not only on good organization in that department itself but also on the progress in Department 1, and vice versa.

In a socialist orientated agriculture this means, inter alia, establishing co-operative farms and state farms which the state must help with the know-how, fertilizers and necessary means of production. This should be a co-ordinated and planned process. But in a situation like that of Poland, even manpower distribution is to a large extent spontaneous. This anarchic development affects the whole economy, bringing about intra-sectoral, intra-factory and even territorial disproportions.

> "All combined labour on a large scale requires, more or less, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism. . ."
> (Karl Marx, *Capital,* Vol. 1, 1975, p. 313.)

World Socialist Economic System

The closest inter-state economic relations of socialist countries exist between member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). This means the combining of the economic interests of individual socialist countries with their common international interest. The economic relation between socialist countries is characterised by the operation of the economic laws of socialism, especially the main economic law of planned, proportionate development of social production.

As Marx wrote:

> "For the peoples to be able truly to unite, they must have common interests. And in order that their interests may become common, the existing (capitalist) property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others. . ."
> (Karl Marx Frederick Engels, *Collected Works,* Vol. 6, p. 388.)

So in a socialist community of states the existing pre-socialist relations also affect the development of the economy of other socialist countries. Socialist economic integration which also envisages even inter-state specialisation and co-operation of production with the utilisation of the best achievements of science, technology and labour organisation cannot be put to maximum effective use if some sectors of some socialist countries display opposition to socialist re-organisation.

This large population of the Catholic Church also means that the Catholic Church is an exclusive independent enterprise with its own floating revenues outside the budget and control of national overall planning. Such an insitution needs a big sum to run, token money which floats in circulation with no real money backing. So this is an extensive additional unproductive sector whose financial links transcend national borders. This unplanned flow of money to and fro across the frontiers also has a telling effect in stepping up balance of payment deficits.

Gus Hall said enough on the mistakes of the PUWP, mistakes which were not deliberate but largely mistakes out of the goodwill of the PUWP. Whilst we understand this, we should also relentlessly continue to search for and expose the objective disadvantages which the forces of reaction never cease to try to exploit, as an obstacle of progress.

Sooner than imperialism realises, the Polish people will see through the clouded issues and then they shall, as Lenin said, refuse to be victims of "deception and self-deception". Socialism shall emerge the victor.

MAO, VIETNAM AND OUR REVOLUTION

From ANC Khumalo, Maputo

The article on 'The Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions' by Van Tao *(African Communist* No. 85) gives a brilliant analysis of the factors responsible for the degeneration of the Chinese Revolution under Mao Zedong and his heirs and, by comparison, the victorious advance of the Vietnamese Revolution. The article is full of important lessons for our own South African Revolution.

Against the advice of the Comintern, and in struggle against the best elements within the Chinese Communist Party, Mao promoted the peasantry and petit bourgeoisie to lead the revolution and was dismissive of the role of the working class; he relied on the countryside and neglected the cities; he extolled the role of armed violence whilst overlooking the mass political struggle; he failed to build a long term national united front!

Incidentally, the author makes a most important observation, providing much food for thought, when he points out that the blunder of 'relying too much on the peasants and overlooking the workers' was not 'too serious' during the national democratic revolution, but had serious consequences later on during the socialist revolution. (Which goes far to explain the tremendous contradictions of the Mao and post-Mao era!)

By comparison the Vietnamese Communist Party asserted itself from the outset as the political party of the working class; always mobilised the workers and peasants to fight side by side; and consequently always managed 'to survive and fight in the midst of the local population' even during periods of intense repression (whether French Colonialism or the might of US Imperialism).

Maoism as an ideology, not to speak of it as a movement since nothing as such exists in South Africa, has made no headway amongst our people; not surprising in view of the dynamic role of the working class in our history, of the position of the workers in our socio-economic formation, and of the enormous influence and principled leadership given to our oppressed and discriminated people by the ANC, SACP and their allies over many years. We have seen, however, dubious elements such as the PAC and a rag-bag of fellow travellers, playing with the idea of 'colour' in much the same way as Mao, the petit-bourgeois nationalist, invoked the 'peasantry'. In both cases the effect is to undermine the role of the working class and promote a petit-bourgeois nationalist leadership. The main targets of their attack are the Freedom Charter, ANC and SACP — not to mention those ubiquitous friends the white communists and the Russians! Whilst the majority by far have the capacity to overcome the pitfalls — and many have found their way into the ranks of the movement — we need to pay much attention to the continuous ideological training of our cadres and spare no effort in the ideological education of all patriots. It is a Maoist tendency in a 'black garb' rather than a 'peasant smock' against which this ideological struggle must be waged in order to ensure that the working class leads the revolution as the class that can ensure the overthrow of racial, national and class oppression. It is the basic proposition of the ANC and the SACP that the African worker is the major force for revolutionary change. (I am not generalising a criticism here at what has been broadly termed the 'black consciousness movement' which has played a positive role in arousing many young people to action, and from which many of our young militants have emerged, I am rather focussing on those sectors with an exclusive racial interpretation of struggle which display hostility to the ANC and pad in the footsteps of the PAC.)

Our Working Class

Of course the main way to ensure the leadership of the working class is by organising the working class! This continues to remain our most pressing problem. The revolt of the Thembisa hostel dwellers, the Sigma workers' and Penge miners' militancy, the heroic work stoppage at the rock-face by the Buffelsfontein miners, the wonderful show of solidarity by Ford workers over the Firestone sackings, the strikes in the Eastern and Western Cape and in Natal and Transvaal, the enormous growth in trade union strength are all signs that the workers are on the threshold of an important new round of class and national battles that might dwarf those that have taken place in recent years! The workers are the most militant, most important and most responsive section of our embattled people. Organising and mobilising their mighty power is the surest and swiftest road to victory.

The Vietnamese based their successes on a small worker percentage in their population. We have a working class of millions! When the struggle of the workers takes place in conjunction with the armed struggle, our revolution will advance by leaps and bounds! Our movement must draw up comprehensive plans not simply for The Year of the Workers but for The Decade of the Workers (1980-1990)! Our movement must throw in far more weight, resources, cadres behind SACTU! These would be steps in the right direction.

The Armed Struggle

Working out the correct line for armed struggle is more difficult in practice than in theory. It is to the credit of our whole movement that we have never shirked from practical effort and Umkhonto we Sizwe, now 20 years old, exists as the only people's military force on the scene, continues to grow, and exhibits increasing ability and potential. The most difficult years are behind us, years in which objective problems, geographic conditions and the formidable repression of a ruthless and powerful state (a factor which is far too easily dismissed by the arm-chair critics!) combined to slow down the process of revolutionary organisation and advance in both the political and military spheres of the struggle. We have entered a period of growing 'revolutionary storm'. In the process the ANC, and our whole liberation movement, have emerged more and more clearly as the leading and unrivalled force for change, enjoying the popular support of broad sections of our people.

We witnessed last year, during the Anti-Republic campaign in May and the June 16 & 26 campaigns, both the growth in organisational capacity as well as the successful combination of mass protest demonstrations and military actions. It is often felt that a military action, sabotage act or raid, is more important than a demonstration or strike, but the lesson we must draw from our campaigns is that the MK actions gained in significance because they took place within the context of mass mobilisation and mass struggle. Furthermore what was demonstrated to our people was the relevance of their own struggles, and that the MK actions were interrelated with those struggles.

That equation has not always been present in the past! A key problem in developing armed struggle is to ensure that the masses do not simply sit back and passively applaud the armed actions. We must constantly find ways of involving the masses in the struggle, of giving them roles even in the early phase of the armed struggle. And we must never leave the masses with the impression that they are being liberated by an outside band of heroes. The burnings of the racist flag, the Turfloop march on the police station, were actions no less militant and daring than the MK attacks, and of course they involved thousands and inspired thousands more. Indeed burning the racist flag has been treated by the enemy as treasonable and is to become punishable by years of imprisonment! Militant and imaginative actions have a habit of snowballing, and the Turfloop students' march tied in effectively with the MK attack on the police station near East London and similar attacks before that. The widespread nature of the MK actions too, from the Eastern Transvaal and the Rand, to the OFS, Cape and Natal confused the enemy and demonstrated our capacity to strike anywhere. The bomb and rocket blasts at the recruiting offices of the racist army in central Durban and at Voortrekkerhoogte captured the headlines, dented the army's pride, undermined state security and tied in with the war resisters' campaign against compulsory military service.

Our tasks

As we go forward, let us borrow a leaf from the pages of the Vietnamese Revolution. Let us ponder how to apply their revolutionary maxims in our own concrete conditions:

'Let us base ourselves on the working class!'

'Let us mobilize the workers and peasants to fight side by side!'

'Let us agitate for both the cities and countryside to rise up together!'

'Let us build our revolutionary forces on the spot within the masses, including the urban and rural populations!'

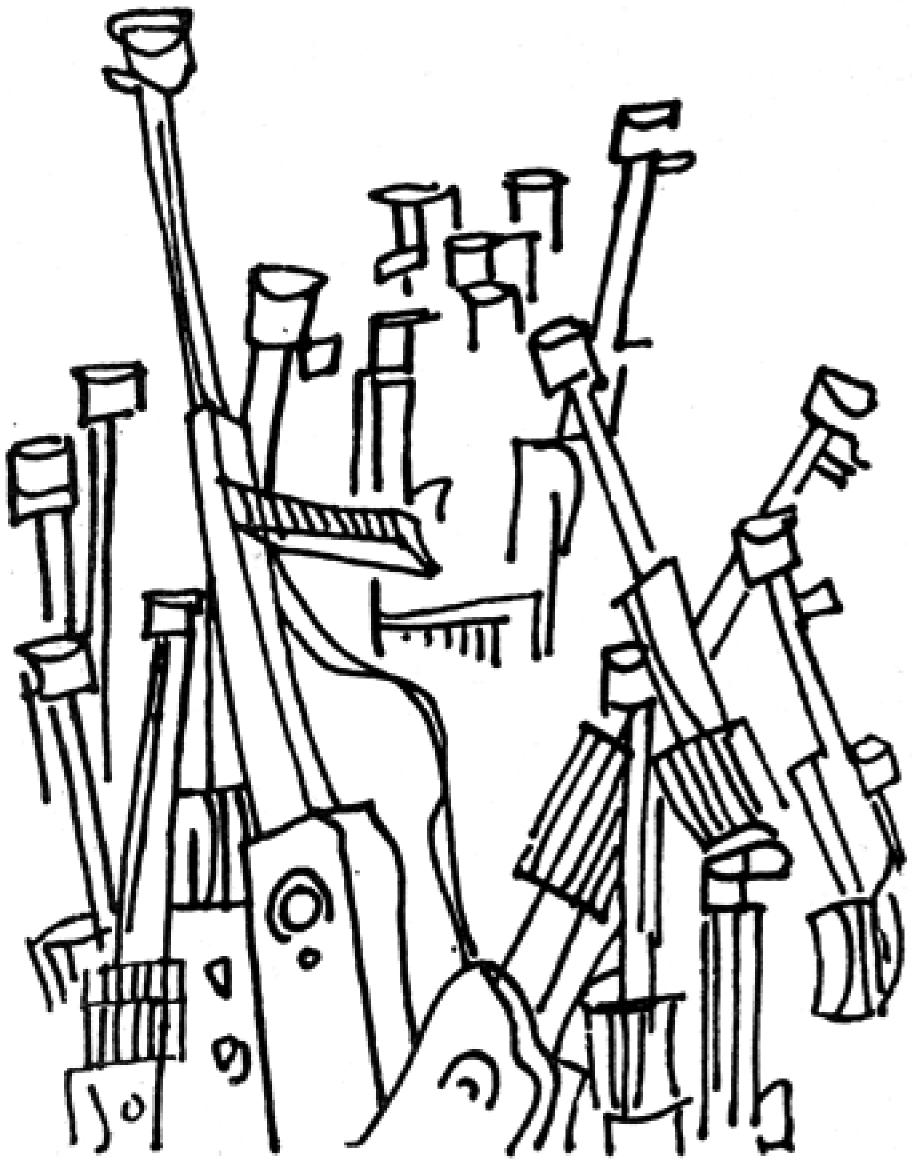
'Let us attach great importance not only to the armed struggle but also to the political struggle: *co-ordination between political and armed struggle!'*

'Let us build a long term, national united front amongst all patriotic and democratic elements of our people!'

'Revolutionary power is seized by the mass movement of the people, under the leadership of the Revolutionary Organisation, through political and armed violence!'

These maxims are not new in the vocabulary of our liberation movement. But how to practically and creatively apply them? How to mobilise our movement's talents and energies behind the correct set of priorities? How to develop further from the important gains we have made in recent years? How to build the mass movement of our people? How to advance now into that as yet elusive and unchartered stage of People's War?

In the year of the ANC's 70th birthday, let us treble our efforts in the search to correctly apply these great, and proven, laws of revolution! There is going to be much blood, effort and sacrifice to do so; but our people, our workers, our youth, our liberation movement, have demonstrated that they are worthy of the task! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!



THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST
LIST OF CONTENTS 1981

No. 84 First Quarter

Editorial Notes: 60th Anniversary of the S.A. Communist Party; Botha's "New Deal"; Reagan Threat to South Africa and World Peace; Obituary — Kate Malale, Julius First, Jack Woddis. 5
Moses Mabhida — Our New General Secretary. 21
Unity and Organisation Mean Victory — statement of Political Bureau of the South African Communist Party. 31
T. Singh: Namibia: No More Katutura. 38
Peter Mackintosh: South Africa and the Fight for Peace. 46
Tau ya Mogale: Why I Joined the Communist Party. 55
Seydou Sissoko: Crisis in Senegal Coming to a Head. 60
Vukani Mawethu: Africa Notes and Comment. Horn of Africa: The Myth of a "Greater Somalia"; Algeria: The fate of El Asnam. 69
Book Reviews: *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry,* by Colin Bundy; *Which Way is South Africa Going?* by Gwendolen Carter; *The Penguin Atlas of African History,* by Colin McEvedy; *Dirty Work: The CIA in Africa,* edited by Ellen Ray, W. Schaap, K. Van Meter and L. Wolf; *Revolutionary Thought in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Ben Turok. 77
Letters to the Editor: From Jersey Jones, somewhere in Africa, and from Zondo Sakala, Brighton. 89
The African Communist: List of Contents 1980 95

No. 85 Second Quarter

Editorial Notes: S.A. Declares War on Africa; The Fight in Namibia; Communism and Poland; We Have Nothing to Celebrate; Correction. 5
R. E. Matajo: Workers Take the Revolutionary Path. 20
William Pomeroy: The Reagan Foreign Policy: Can it Make US Imperialism Great Again? 38
Mde Mgentonga: 60th Birthday of the SACP: Our National Struggle in its International Context. 50
E. R. Braverman: Why I Joined the Communist Party. 60
Alex La Guma: Report on the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. 64
Vukani Mawethu: Africa Notes and Comment, Guinea Bissau — Background to the Coup; Western Sahara — Polisario's International Prestige. 75
The Polish Crisis: Speeches by Gus Hall and Fidel Castro. 84
Van Tao: The Differences Between the Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions. 97

Book Reviews: *Organise . . . Or Starve, The History of SACTU,* by Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall; *Call Me Not a Man,* the stories of Mtutuzeli Matshoba; *Store up the Anger,* by Wessel Ebersohn; *Poppie,* by Elsa Joubert; *Nelson Mandela,* by Mary Benson; *The Caribbean Revolution,* by Cheddi Jagan; *The Third World Tomorrow,* by Paul Harrison; *Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism,* by Ann Seidman and Neva Seidman Makgetla; *Justice in South Africa,* by John D. Jackson; *Poets to the People, South African Freedom Poems,* ed. Barry Feinberg; *Namibia, the Facts, Angola, Socialism at Birth; Facelift Apartheid South Africa After Soweto,* by Judy Seidman. 110

No. 86 **Third Quarter**

Smash the White Republic of Black Misery! Statement by CC of SACP on its 60th Anniversary. 5
Editorial Notes: The Imperialist Drive to War Must be Halted! Namibia and the West; The Meaning of the White Election; South African Women's Day; SACP leaflet. 11
Toussaint: SACP Anniversary on July 30: In Retrospect — 60 Years On. 25
Yusuf Dadoo and Moses Mabhida: 26th Congress of the CPSU: The Voice of Reason, Peace and Socialism. 46
Bridge Mohan: Why I Joined the Communist Party. 57
Phineas Malinga: Frontline States try to Break the Shackles. 60
A. Bakaya: The Psychology of Apartheid. 66
Cartoons from Mozambique. 72
Ahmed Azad: Africa Notes and Comments. Sudan: A Coup and its Aftermath; Central African Republic: "Bogus Elections"; Uganda: Campaign of Subversion. 79
Comrade Mzala: Has the Time Come for the Arming of the Masses? 83
Book Reviews: *Ethnic Power mobilised — Can South Africa Change?* by Heribert Adam and Herman Giliomee; *Asking for Trouble,* by Donald Woods; *In Black and White,* by Barbara Hutmacher; *A Season in Paradise,* by Breyten Breytenbach; *Portrait of a People,* by Eli Weinberg. 95
Letter to the Editor: From Moyahabo Moloantoa, Somewhere in Africa. 104
Document: Solidarity Appeal issued by the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. 107

No. 87 **Fourth Quarter**

Editorial Notes: Botha's Programme of Murder and War; How Our Anniversary was Celebrated; Casualties in the Struggle; Apartheid Rugby is not Cricket. 5
Mutual Trust and Comradeship in Battle: Extracts of Speeches by Moses Mabhida and Oliver Tambo at 60th Anniversary Meeting of SACP in London on July 30th, 1981. 16
Sol Dubula: The Two Pillars of our Struggle. 26

Alexander Sibeko: Four Who Were Communists. 41
Bertolt Brecht: Praise of Communism. 50
Eli Weinberg: Why I am a Member of the Communist Party. 51
R. S. Nyameko: Fight US Subversion of Trade Union Movement in Africa. 56
M. K. Mtungwa: Twentieth Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe. 65
Anon: Of Maids and Madams. 78
Book Reviews: *Freedom for my People,* autobiography of Z. K. Matthews; *Why South Africa Will Survive,* by L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan; *Present-Day Problems in Asia and Africa,* by R. Ulyanovsky; *Inside the Third World,* by Paul Harrison. 84
Emilia Ilieva: Africa in the Struggle for Literary Autonomy. 93
Rashad: Why I Joined the Communist Party. 98
Yuri Vinokurov: Patrice Lumumba — Personality and Fighter. 102

Available from
INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS
39 GOODGE STREET
LONDON W1P 1FD

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK
1915-1980

A book of documents from the history of the South African Communist Party.
495 pages. — *Price £10, $25.*

MOSES KOTANE: SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY

by Brian Bunting. — *Price £3, $8.*

50 FIGHTING YEARS:

by A. Lerumo (M. Harmel). — *Price £3, $8.*

THE ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM:

Programme of the SACP adopted inside South Africa in 1962.
Price 50p, $1.

Send your order to Inkululeko Publications, enclosing cheque/post office giro/postal order to above address.

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM, VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.

RADIO MADAGASCAR:	*shortwave 49 m band, 6135 KHz, 8-9pm daily.*
RADIO LUSAKA	*shortwave 41 m band, 7.3 MgHz, 8-30-9am daily.*
RADIO LUANDA:	*shortwave 40 m & 30 m bands; medium wave 27.6 m band, 7.30 pm daily.*
RADIO TANZANIA:	*shortwave, 19 m band, 15,435 KHz,* *8.15pm Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday; 31 m band, 6.15am Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.*